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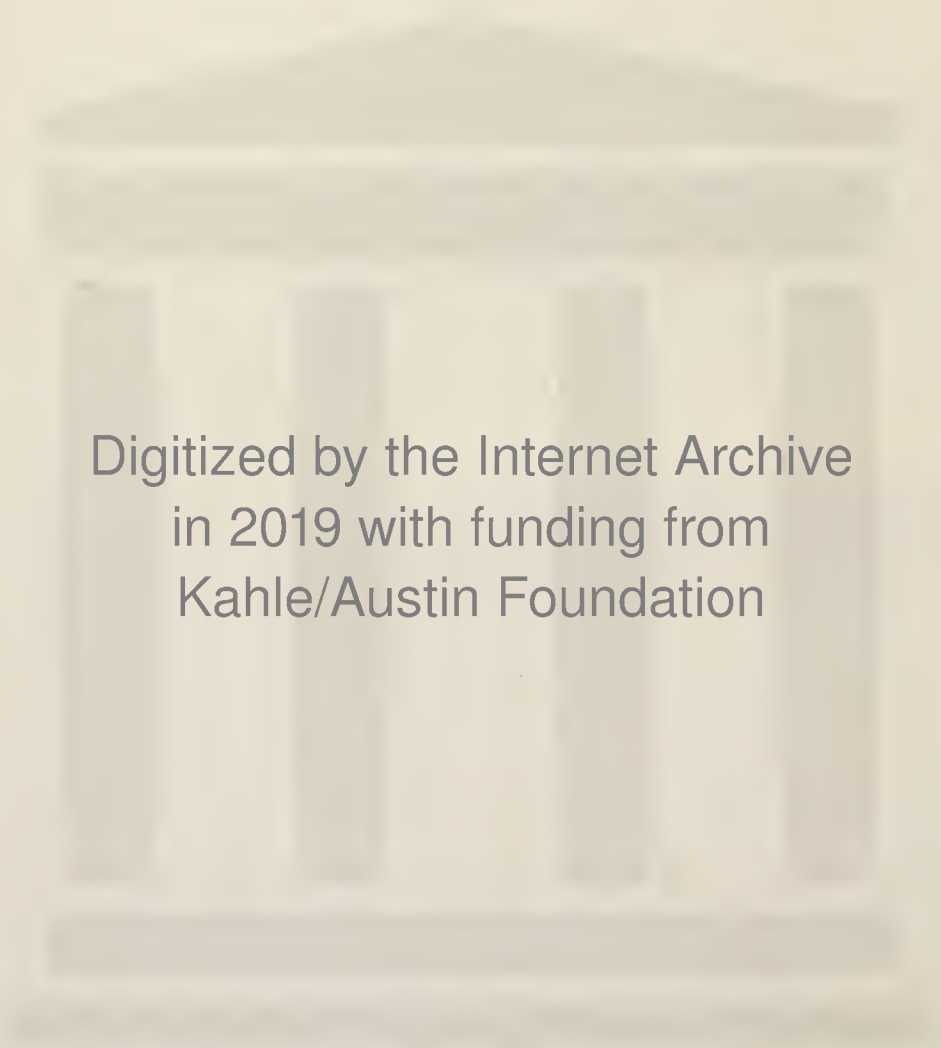
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# MEMOIRS

*Photo by Grove, Son and Boulton, from a picture by P. Hay.*

SIR ALMERIC FITZROY.

[*Frontispiece*, II.

# MEMOIRS

BY

SIR ALMERIC FITZROY

VOL. II

FIFTH EDITION

WITH 32 ILLUSTRATIONS

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# MEMOIRS OF
# SIR ALMERIC FITZROY

## 1910

*May 7th.*—At 12.45 a.m. a telephone message came through from the Colonial Office (by which I learnt that the King was dead), informing me of Crewe's wish I should call at Crewe House between 9 and 9.30. By seven telephone messages from all quarters kept pouring in, and at 8.30, as I was snatching a hasty breakfast, Harcourt arrived, having travelled all night from Paris. Bigge communicated with me very early, and, learning that I was to see Crewe, charged me with a message from King George that he should look to him, in the absence of the Prime Minister, to act in his behalf and help him in every way. Bigge had said the night before, when I told him of my telegrams to Crewe and the Chancellor, that I could not have anticipated the King's wishes better, as he only mentioned an hour or two earlier that he trusted to have those two by his side on the morrow.

After some twenty minutes at Crewe House, during which I settled with Lord Crewe certain necessary preliminaries and arranged to see him again as soon as the order of business for the Council was complete, I went down to the Lord Chamberlain's Office, where I found Douglas Dawson very anxious to see me in relation to the preparations in the banqueting-room at St. James's. We repaired thither, to be shortly joined by the Lord Chamberlain, and in a very short time had every detail settled. I next went over to Marlborough House and reported all my arrangements to Bigge. On reaching the Privy Council Office, I found preparations in rapid progress, but a great number of points remained to be considered. Requests for information poured in from all quarters, which had to be answered with as much precision as circumstances permitted, and decisions promptly given in matters where the least error would have had untoward consequences.

The Duke of Norfolk telegraphed that he had left Arundel and would be with me by twelve, and I was advised by Harcourt

that he would come through to meet him in my room, an arrangement which led to a discussion of the preliminaries relating to the King's funeral and of the Committee to be appointed by the Earl Marshal to have charge of it. From the time they left till 2.15 the pressure was uninterrupted. I was able to steal half an hour for luncheon at the Travellers', and then got into my clothes and reached St. James's Palace at 3.20. About ten minutes later, Derek Keppel came over with a summons from the King, and we forced our way through the crowds blocking the approach to the courtyard and the side-entrance to Marlborough House. The King received me in the library alone, and I was much impressed by the quiet dignity of his manner and bearing. We went through the order of procedure for the Council, and I satisfied him on all points upon which he desired information. There was a gravity in his demeanour which I thought a favourable omen for the spirit in which he undertook as heavy a burden as ever fell to the lot of a British monarch on his accession : there was no vainglory in his attitude, but a consciousness that in the difficult task before him he would have the sympathy and the support of all his servants.

The proceedings in St. James's Palace began with Crewe's waiting upon the King and then returning to announce to the Lords of the Council that His Majesty understood they had certain matters to settle before he made his entry. When the moment for this arrived, he (Lord Crewe) would invite Prince Christian, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Lord Chancellor to accompany him, in order to convey the necessary intimation to the King. It was then my duty to read the Proclamation, which people were good enough to say I did with proper feeling and attention to delivery. I cannot affirm that the occasion was as striking as in the same hall nine years ago, for the end of Queen Victoria's reign, coinciding as it did with the end of the nineteenth century, had a peculiar significance, and in the stately preamble referring to *her* death, I felt that I was announcing the end of an epoch. Moreover, there were circumstances which robbed the present occasion of some of the *éclat* which had been imparted to the last : the Duke of Cambridge had passed away, the Duke of Connaught was not present, and no Heir Apparent stood by the Monarch's side. Then, too, some great figures were gone : Lord Salisbury was not there to lend his impressive dignity to a great state ceremonial, the Duke of Devonshire's striking personality had disappeared, and lesser men were in their places ; the Prime Minister was away, and the Primate of all England had not the imposing outlines of his great predecessor, Frederick Temple. On the other hand, experience enabled me to give to the proceedings a more measured and controlled orderliness. I took the opportunity, while the Lords were absent summoning the

King, to address the company and explain exactly the plan I proposed to follow in reswearing them, and asked them to preserve a semicircle at a respectful distance from the table before which the King would stand. I also took the precaution to collect the Roman Catholic members of the Privy Council at one prominent point, where they could be sworn at the proper time with the distinctive form in use. My only difficulty was to get the Aldermen out of the room: not that the Lord Mayor raised any objection to going, as on the last occasion, for I had seen the City Remembrancer before the ceremony and obtained from him a pledge that nothing of the sort should occur again; but, as they all wanted to sign the Proclamation before they withdrew, they crowded to the table, and it was as much as we could do to cause them to break off their occupation.

The King addressed the Council in words which went to the heart of the audience by virtue of their candour, simplicity, and depth of feeling. He spoke from a carefully typed text, so that no difficulty arose, as on the last occasion, in conveying the message to the people. His voice was strong and musical, and the references to the Queen and to the loss he had sustained of a friend and guide as well as a father, were very well chosen. Upon his retirement at the conclusion of the business, I kept a sufficient number of Privy Councillors to sign the letters of commendation to various corporations and public bodies which it is our duty to issue, and by 5.30 the room was empty, and a great and memorable state event brought to a fitting conclusion.

*May* 10*th*.—The King held another Council this morning, at which the two Archbishops and the bulk of the Cabinet were present, as both the Prime Minister and the Secretary of State, the First Lord of the Admiralty and others had to be sworn. Late last night I had heard from the Duke of Norfolk that the King wished to limit the period of general mourning by the Order in Council to Sunday the 22nd, but it was ultimately decided to insert no date in the Order, and leave it to the Earl Marshal in the usual course to define the limit by a subsequent instruction. The Archbishop had previously informed me that, in the new form of Prayer for the Royal Family, Queen Alexandra would be styled the Queen-Mother, for which, as I told the King on Saturday, we had to go back to the years 1660–70 for a precedent. He also confirmed the King's intimation on the same occasion that the Queen would be called Queen Mary.

While we were waiting in the ante-room I had some talk with Lord Morley upon the Lord President's state of health, and suggested that the attainment of his eightieth year might very fittingly be used for another effort to induce him to retire. "You probably know," he said, "what took place between us at the beginning of the Session. On my touching the subject, he exclaimed, 'I

am stunned by the suggestion of my dismissal,' and burst into tears. That," he went on, " was the end of our direct efforts, but we opened communication with his family, and were assured by his daughter that it would kill him to insist upon the performance of his duties. Fancy," said Lord Morley with fine scorn, " anybody being killed by the duties of the Lord President of the Council ! It would equally kill him, Mrs. Felkin added, if he was dismissed." I replied that they seemed to be between the devil and the deep sea, as the only choice presented lay between rival methods of murder. Lord Morley further added, with still more marked scorn, that some mention was subsequently made of " a step " as a solatium to him on retirement !

The King received us all very courteously and maintained a most gracious demeanour throughout the ceremony. Asquith and Crewe both had audiences before the Council, and the King's interview with the Prime Minister was somewhat protracted. After the Council I kept him, Winston Churchill, Crewe, and the two Archbishops to pass an Order authorising the Archbishop of Canterbury to prepare forms of special service for the commemoration of the late King upon the day of the funeral or within the Octave.

*May 11th.*—I saw Stair yesterday, who, as Lord High Commissioner to the Church of Scotland, thought it necessary to complain of the King's description as " His *Most Sacred* Majesty " in the Order exhorting the Scottish Churches to alter their forms of prayer for the Royal Family, assuring me that it was wounding to Scottish sentiment, as appearing to deify the King after the fashion of the Roman Emperor ! I undertook to note what he said, and subsequently communicated with Lords Balfour and Pentland, both of whom scouted the notion that the point had any importance.

*May 13th–16th.*—We spent a brief Whitsuntide recess at Heron Court with the Malmesburys, the Monsons, Sebrights, Stucleys and the Master of Saltoun forming the rest of the party. By great good fortune the weather was exquisite, Sunday being as delightful a day as ever rejoiced the heart of man in spring.

*May 17th.*—The King's body was removed to-day from Buckingham Palace to Westminster Hall. The Arthur Hills, Mrs. Forster and Miss Dorothy, the Guy Sebrights, the Master of Saltoun and his sister, Lady Monson and Lady Margery Dalrymple came to a room in the Privy Council Office overlooking Whitehall. The ceremony was touching in its simplicity and for the prominence of the personal note over the spectacular, all those following and preceding the gun-carriage being on foot, and the effect of the massed bands never being lost at any point of the route for nine years associated with the Royal Progress to Westminster Palace at the opening of Parliament. The wail of the pipes and

the strains of the Highland lament borne from the Mall to the Parade-ground, fell upon the ear with poignant effect, and as the procession wound down the slope to the heartrending chords of Chopin's March and the bright spring sunshine fell upon the trees which framed the spectacle and the flashes of colour illuminating the *convoi*, it was impossible not to feel, with a force there was no gainsaying, the profound grief that lies at the heart of things, do what we can to conceal or forget it. It is perhaps to such occasions we may look for some healing of the malady of a people that knows not the significance of Sorrow.

*May 20th.*—To-day the last act of this long-drawn drama was reached when we went to Windsor, in the stately phrase of the Earl Marshal's summons, "to assist at the interment" in the Chapel of St. George. The days since the 17th had been marked by sullen skies and disturbed with muttering thunder and torrential rains, but happily the morning broke with an unruffled splendour not often seen in London. Owing to the alarm created by the police notices upon the difficulty of getting to places on the line of route, there was no rest after 4 a.m., from that time onwards the streets being alive with the hooting of motors and the perpetual tramp of feet.

After despatching a party of people to the Privy Council Office between 7 and 7.30, we had more than two hours before it was necessary to repair to Paddington, which we reached with great ease at 10.5, to find the platform already crowded with Cabinet Ministers, Ambassadors, Proconsuls, prominent politicians—the representatives of the public life of the Empire—and fair women, who, in their black garb, subdued the scenic note to its proper pitch.

We went down with the Cromers, Sir F. and Lady Hopwood, and Lord Justice Buckley. Lord Cromer was as agreeable and unaffected as ever, and Lady Cromer, whom I had not hitherto seen much of, talked very sensibly of the crisis in Egypt, which she evidently thought serious, though not beyond the power of Sir E. Gorst to cope with, to whom she was very loyal as her husband's pupil and successor. The walk up to St. George's Chapel was hot, but, once in the building, our places in the front row near the west door were as cool as any and very favourable for seeing all that passed. The tiers of seats opposite were mainly occupied by ladies, conspicuous among whom were Lady Ripon and Lady Stradbroke. The beautiful face of the last-named, in its sable setting, might have stood for the embodiment of antique grief, a Niobe or Laodamia.

We had some three-quarters of an hour to wait before the booming of minute-guns announced the arrival of the train at Windsor, but it was more than another half-hour before the procession reached the west door. At the first signal of its

approach the Archbishop and Bishops taking part in the ceremony moved to their places on the threshold, followed by the Dean and Chapter of Windsor in their purple robes with the cross of St. George embroidered on the left shoulder, and behind them the minor canons and choir. These last soon fell into a disgraceful disarray : the minor canons seemed lost to all sense of the dignity of the ceremonial on which they were engaged, and, instead of observing their station and attitude of attention, were occupied in craning their necks forward in every posture of idle curiosity, in order to obtain a view of what was passing outside the building ; the choir followed their example, and shaped into a huddled mob, while the Dean of Windsor, whose duty it was, as their leader and head, to see that order prevailed, deserted his place for a seat among the spectators, where he became absorbed in conversation with a lady. I never saw, in circumstances of similar ceremony and pathos, such a complete *détente* and disorder among the principal assistants.

After the assisting Kings and other foreign representatives had passed into the choir, the service proceeded, the main body of the procession, including the late King's A.D.C.s, many of them looking much the worse for their walk, and the foreign *suites* remaining on the floor of the nave, whence it was easy enough to follow the office. The chanting of the various parts was admirably rendered and the proclamation of the late Sovereign's style, delivered in tones which rang through the building by Garter King-at-Arms, brought it to a fitting close.

The sun fell in dazzling brightness upon the masses of flowers reared against the west and south walls as we passed out by the length of the chapel towards the Castle, where an ample luncheon was spread in St. George's Hall.

As we came out we met the Duke of Norfolk, who said he had not had more than three hours' sleep any night for a fortnight. The success that attended his efforts must have been very gratifying to him, though, with characteristic diffidence, he was ready to pass the credit to others. The Committee that worked with him is no doubt entitled to its share, and among them the representatives of the Office of Works and the Police deserve the highest praise.

At the luncheon I was able to help Charles Montagu provide food for his mother, the Duchess of Devonshire, who looked as if her last hour was not far off.

The journey to London, which we took with Abercorn, the Duke of Grafton, and Euston, was made with due despatch, our train entering Paddington Station at ten minutes to four. The impressions of the day will remain as a vivid legacy not only of a great state pageant, but of an enduring witness to a nation's homage and affection.

The interval is too short and the sense of an almost personal loss too prominent for any just estimate to be formed of the consequences to this country and to its place in the forum of European States resulting from the removal of King Edward; but, as perspectives lengthen, his work will be seen in truer relation to the influence of the country for which he laboured and to the permanent interests of the great community of peoples. It was his characteristic and the main secret of his power, as an international force, that the tendencies of European diplomacy found in him an apprehension of view-points, not exclusively British, giving to his judgment upon current problems and the handling of the diplomatic issues they raised a width and maturity which formed, as one of his country's best assets, a standing reserve of political wisdom. This quality of his thought and action was none the less useful because it was temperamental rather than intellectual; indeed, this peculiarity lent it a higher efficiency through the magnetism which temperament gives to personality.

*May 23rd.*—The air this week is full of the gossip which naturally follows on the relaxation of tension, and, with the inevitable tendency of human affairs, grotesque elements are not wanting to the warp and woof of graver matters. Some Tories of the baser sort are disposed to attribute the King's death to the unscrupulous tactics of Ministers, and you are gravely told that the King's visit to Sandringham was due to the want of some vent for his anxieties after his interview with the Prime Minister. That visit was no doubt the critical error in the series of untoward events which resulted in the catastrophe of the 6th, but the sole responsibility for that visit rests with the King's ordinary medical attendants; he was also allowed to dine out on his return—the last time he left the portals of Buckingham Palace alive.

An important reception had been arranged by the Colonial Office on Wednesday, when audience was given to Mr. Moore, the Prime Minister of Western Australia. Unhappily, the Memorandum issued by the Colonial Office fell into the hands of the Lord-in-Waiting, who, in the information he gave the King, connected Moore with New Zealand. This led His Majesty to refer to New Zealand as Mr. Moore's country, and on Sir F. Hopwood, as he was bound to do, correcting the mistake, the King had an explosion of wrath, followed by a very violent fit of coughing. The King's appearance that day was very bad, large black blotches being apparent under his skin, due to coagulation of the blood as the result of imperfect oxygenation. He was looking so much worse the following day that Hopwood, casting aside official reticence, told the King that not another man in the Empire would be doing business when he was obviously so ill. Notwithstanding all these unmistakable signs, and though I believe Reid

recognised at nine o'clock on Friday morning that the King was a dying man, the doctors in consultation were exercising their minds on the production of some illusory bulletin, when the Prince of Wales came into the room and said that, recognising as he did the extreme peril of his father's state, the time had come for dropping all concealment. In the result the official announcement was made of the King's danger, but only, as it turned out, some twelve hours before he died.

*May* 15*th*.—A step further has been taken in bringing the Lord President to a sense of his position. The Prime Minister wrote a very strongly worded letter to his daughter, Mrs. Felkin, asking that his doctor should be required to say whether he was fit to discharge his duties. This elicited the information that the doctors were unanimous in assuring him that his life was seriously imperilled by his clinging to office, but so far he had scouted their warnings. The family, however, are now alive to the fact that, in the event of his not taking the opportunity of retiring gracefully, the Prime Minister will have recourse to some drastic step, and it is hoped that he will be induced to yield to their wishes after his son's wedding on June 8th.

We dined with Mrs. Lawson last night, when I took Lady Wenlock in to dinner. Her deafness made conversation very difficult, but, as she was anxious to talk, I willingly surrendered the taste for eating to the pleasure of her conversation, and felt amply rewarded.

*May* 31*st*.—In view of His Majesty's intention to signalise his birthday by promoting himself to the rank of Admiral of the Fleet, it became necessary to pass an Order in Council for the purpose. I had only twenty-four hours' notice of the urgency of the occasion, but by great good luck I found Haldane was in London, and, with the aid of Pentland and Beauchamp, the requisite quorum was made up and the Council met this afternoon : Herbert Maxwell and the two Ambassadors who happened to be at home, Arthur Nicolson and Rennell Rodd attending to be resworn.

When I saw Haldane yesterday to arrange matters he accounted for his being in London by having had to undertake the charge of the Home Office, as Winston Churchill insisted that he needed a holiday, assuring his colleague that he left a clean slate behind him and that there would be practically no work to do. As a matter of fact, Haldane said that the business of the Home Office had been three times as heavy as that of the War Office, as he found a labour war on the verge of breaking out at Newport (Mon.), which only appears to have been averted by the promptitude with which he was able to act, fortified by his legal knowledge and holding, as he did, both the military and civil forces in his hand.

Haldane's demeanour at the Council, the first where he had ever taken the leading rôle, was a masterpiece of deportment. Blandly deferential, his whole being seemed to exhale a subtle flattery most grateful to the senses, and to invoke the royal approval as a matter of kingly grace, while he managed to convey a kind of personal significance to the dry notes of the list of business which brought His Majesty into touch with the spirit of the formal duty he was discharging. One felt that he was stereotyping tradition and condensing history before our eyes. His audience with the King both preceded the Council and was prolonged after its conclusion.

Haldane added a curious fact to my knowledge of the means taken at different times to bring to an end the official life of Lord Wolverhampton. Two years ago, when Asquith became Prime Minister, Lord Morley, by arrangement, suggested to Sir H. Fowler, as he then was, that the time had come for both of them to tender their resignations, knowing of course that his would not be accepted. Whether the old man smelt a rat or not I do not know, but at any rate he refused to walk into the trap so artfully laid.

*June 1st.*—Last night we dined with the Beauchamps. Adeline Duchess of Bedford, Mrs. Arthur Walrond, Victor Corkran, and others present. George Wyndham came in late in the evening to announce that his father had been brought up to London safely. He told me that, when the news of the King's death reached him at Clouds on the morning of the 7th, he insisted upon Arthur Balfour, who was there, coming up to London at once, and thus they both attended the Accession Council, of the management of which he spoke in most laudatory terms.

*June 8th.*—Lord Wolverhampton's resignation has been brought within measurable distance. As the result of his reply to the Prime Minister, an interview has been arranged for Monday next, when an understanding will be reached which Nash [1] promises me will be made effective before the King holds a ceremonial Council the week after next at St. James's Palace. I also learnt that it is substantially settled to give Beauchamp the place, which is as satisfactory an appointment as could be made.

*June 9th.*—A Council having been fixed for Saturday, I have been in communication with Knollys upon the forms to be observed in connection with Prince Arthur's introduction into the Privy Council. There is no note of what passed in July 1894 when the present King was introduced as Duke of York, and there is no living memory to invoke except his own. I have found a note purporting to describe the introduction of George, Prince of Wales, in 1783, and a still more interesting one dating from 1662, relative to the introduction of Prince Rupert, who appears to

[1] Private Secretary to Prime Minister.

have been formally "declared" to be of the Privy Council, although, as a Prince of the Blood Royal, not sworn. I was rather in favour of reverting to this precedent, particularly as the relationship in the present case was the same as that between Prince Rupert and Charles II, viz. first-cousin; but apparently the King did not wish to give the occasion a more ceremonial character than his own introduction, and it was finally left to me to draw up a Memorandum of the formalities I thought should be observed, which were accordingly confined to the Prince being brought into the room and conducted to his place by the Minister acting for the Lord President, and "kissing hands" when the other Privy Councillors were in their places.

*June* 10*th*.—I went over to see Carrington, who is to take the Council to-morrow for the Lord President, and went through the list of business with him, explaining the ceremonial nature of his functions. He was good enough to say that an enormous change for the better had been brought about in my time in the order and dignity of the proceedings; whereas, in the old days, no one seemed to have any instructions, and the whole thing was muddled through anyhow, Privy Councillors being sometimes seen crawling along on all fours. I found Beauchamp at the "Travellers'," and had a talk with him upon his entry on office, for which the King's decision to hold a big Council on Tuesday 21st would offer a favourable opportunity: he is anxious that a public announcement of the appointment should be made as soon as possible, but with a man like Lord Wolverhampton, whose mind is steeped in chronic inertia, there may be practical difficulties, and I could only promise to do my utmost, in conjunction with the Prime Minister's staff, to accelerate the process.

*June* 11*th*.—When I reached Marlborough House this morning, Derek Keppel said he thought the King would like to see me, and in a few minutes I was taken upstairs to the library, where I found the Queen with him, and had the opportunity of kissing her hand on being presented for the first time since the accession. We had a lengthy conversation on the subject of Prince Arthur's introduction, when it appeared that, so far as the King's own recollections of the ceremony went, it had been of the baldest description: however, I showed him the note I had from Knollys the day before, and obtained his sanction for its being placed on formal record as prescribing the order to be hereafter observed. He then turned to the formalities to be followed in creating the Duke of Cornwall Prince of Wales, which is to take place on his sixteenth birthday, the 23rd inst. The Home Office were, I understood, preparing the Letters Patent approving the appointment, which, upon the Sign Manual being affixed, would then be passed under the Great Seal. His Majesty remarked upon the complicated web in which these things were entangled, and I

could not but agree that it was often difficult to trace the causes of their differences of treatment, embedded as they were in the obscurities of a remote past.

Aberdeen and Selborne attended to be resworn, and Knollys, Sir W. Carrington, and Bigge took the oaths on becoming Privy Councillors, Granard and Althorp being also there. Lord Carrington managed the "list of business very well": the contrast between decorum and slovenliness in the handling of forms is always instructive.

*June 15th–19th.*—With my daughter at Duncombe Park for the Archbishop's visit: the Helmsleys, Ulrica Baring, Sir W., Lady, and Miss Worsley, the Arthur Greys and Mrs. Arthur Walrond were there. We reopened a church in Farndale on Friday in lovely weather. Never was the beauty of the dales more richly displayed, the *coup d'œil* that broke upon one at the parapet of the ridge by Guillamore was as varied in form and extensive in range as is to be met with in any part of the district, and the whole face of the country was palpitating in sunlight.

The gathering at the church was drawn from all the neighbouring dales, for the occasion was one that stirred the unchanging interests of life among these hills, and brought to the people a sense of all that was most touching in their traditions and stable in their affections.

I know no view which gives the eye so much to feed upon and steeps the heart in deeper reverie than that from the terraces at Duncombe Park: the long movement of the dreaming woods, the spiritual play of light, like an animate pulse, informing and illuminating material things, the richness and luxury of all these forms and all these colours, and then the sound, obscure, uncertain, never-ceasing, which beyond and behind all rises and falls in a perpetual tremolo and fills the soul with the presence of life universal, drawn from some eternal source and permeating each transitory type.

My daughter and I motored into York on Sunday afternoon in order to catch a train to London, and were amply repaid by the beauty of the first half of the way.

*June 20th.*—I saw Lionel Earle, who had spent the Sunday in the same house with the Prime Minister. He confessed that the King's death had resulted in a set-back to the purely party aims of Liberalism, but he takes a favourable view of the prospect of the negotiations upon which the Government have entered. He talked with confidence of the business of the Session being concluded by the second week of August, and had every reason to think an autumn Session would be avoided—inferences that can only be drawn from an assured belief in the probability of a compromise.

At a little dinner at Metternich's the Emperor told Frank

Lascelles that he had often been asked to do curious things in England, but he had never in his life before this occasion been told to do such an odd thing as to walk behind a dog.

*June 21st.*—A large Council took place to-day at St. James's Palace for the swearing in of a number of Privy Councillors. It also provided a fitting occasion for the King to declare Beauchamp Lord President, whose term of office was therefore inaugurated with unwonted *éclat*. Including the Duke of Connaught, eighty Privy Councillors took the oaths. Owing to the late arrival of some of the most distinguished, I had very little time to arrange them in the prescribed order for kissing the King's hand, but I managed to get the Dukes, Earls, Marquesses, and Viscounts into a formal semicircle which gave a dignified appearance to the company when the King entered, and, by calling the rest forward as they were wanted, the whole parade was attended by that ceremonial distinction so necessary to invest functions of the kind with any impressiveness. It was an illustrious gathering, and perhaps included more men of eminence than the first Council, as, besides personages in the front rank of politicians, such as Lords Lansdowne, St. Aldwyn, Balfour, Salisbury, Cawdor, and Midleton, there were present such representative men as Lord Rayleigh, Lord Cromer, Lord Roberts, and Sir E. Seymour; distinguished lawyers like Dunedin, Romer, Stirling, the Speaker of the House of Commons, an ex-Speaker (Lord Peel), an ambassador, and one or two ex-members of the diplomatic body.

I had luncheon with Mrs. Adeane and returned to the office in time to receive Beauchamp on his first visit as Lord President.

*June 23rd.*—The Duke of Cornwall to-day, being his birthday, received the title of Prince of Wales. Accordingly a meeting of the Privy Council had to take place, in order to make the requisite change in the Prayer Book. The Lord President, the Archbishop of Canterbury, Pentland, and Winston Churchill met in the room of the last-named at the House of Commons for the purpose. The Archbishop of Canterbury was inclined to carp at the recital in the Order of the names of the other members of the Royal Family, who are mentioned in the Liturgy, but it was in fact the only way of doing it without clumsiness. I told him that it was the usual and ordered way of procedure, adding that antiquity was a better judge of ceremonial than this slipshod age, after which he had nothing further to say.

*June 25th.*—Last night I dined with Lady St. Helier, the Midletons, Winston Churchills, Godfrey Barings, Lawrence Curries, Bishop Welldon, Sir Almroth Wright, and two or three others whose names I did not learn. It was amusing, after the ladies had gone upstairs, to hear Winston Churchill silenced on the subject of female suffrage by Sir A. Wright.

This afternoon I went down to Osterley and remained to

*Photo by Air-Co. Photography.*

DUNCOMBE PARK FROM THE AIR.

dinner. By the inclemency of the weather those who attended the garden party were confined to the house the whole time. It fortunately cleared up about six, and we were able to enjoy an hour of warm sun listening to some admirable music. Jersey had overdone himself in a committee meeting, which threatened a recurrence of his malady, and remained upstairs: I thought Lady Jersey worried and anxious, but her constant courtesy was as conspicuous as ever. Lady Longford appeared much better. After dinner that weird visionary Dunsany poured into my ears his strange, Neo-Celtic transcendentalism: his mind is saturated in a kind of mysticism he has peopled with shapes, for which he is seeking expression through the order of ideas Yeats and his school of speculative symbolism have made familiar. He is one of those people who must find a formula for the phantasms of reverie.

*June 27th.*—I had an amusing letter from George Murray in reply to my congratulation on his appointment to the Privy Council. "My counsel," he said, "would be most valuable to the King, but, as I never can persuade any of his Ministers to listen to what I tell them, I don't suppose he will either."

It is reported that on one of the few occasions he saw Lloyd George in connection with finance, he observed, "I see the only thing you have not done is to take money for additional lunatic asylums; but it seems to me that most of His Majesty's Ministers will go there sooner or later."

I hear he was sounded upon his willingness to go to India as Governor-General, and does not like the idea of Charles Hardinge being preferred to him. Perhaps he was thought a little too downright and brusque in his methods, but, from his own point of view, I should have felt that age (he is sixty-one) and fulness of figure were fatal drawbacks to such a transplantation.

It is substantially settled that Arthur Nicolson goes to the Foreign Office.

*July 1st–3rd.*—On board a small yacht hired by Freddy Bentinck. We were confined to the Solent, as the weather was too squally to venture outside. Cowes was almost deserted the first night we were there, but a few people turned up on Saturday. We sailed up to the head of Portsmouth Harbour that day, and explored the ruins of Porchester Castle: a magnificent quadrangular *enceinte*, with a massive twelfth-century keep, part of which goes back to the time of Henry I. From it Henry V embarked on the campaign ended at Agincourt.

*July 13th.*—An intimation that the preparations for the Coronation were to be undertaken at the next Council has thrown upon me the usual weight of initial business. I was anxious to reduce the bulk of the Proclamation by eliminating paragraphs which referred to the abandonment of the banquet and the pro-

cession, now on three successive occasions set aside. Beauchamp was quite of my way of thinking, but the Lord Chancellor, though professing to share our impatience of superfluous phraseology, advised us to let the matter alone.

*July* 19*th.*—At the Council to-day the King approved the Proclamation relative to the Coronation and instructed me to read the first part of it in Council, as his father had done. In connection with the special business before the Council the Duke of Norfolk and Harcourt were summoned, and Lords Sefton, Curzon, and Rothschild, Walter Hutchinson, and Ailwyn Fellowes also attended. I became aware, more from the atmosphere current than anything else, that the relations between the Earl Marshal and the royal entourage were strained, but no full light was thrown upon the causes.

*July* 21*st.*—Some further illumination was given yesterday by my hearing from Vaughan Nash that the Prime Minister would like the meeting of the Coronation Committee of the Privy Council postponed to four o'clock, as he had an important statement to make on behalf of the King, and could not leave the House of Commons earlier. It appears that the King is advised to disestablish the Earl Marshal's department, with its antiquated methods and fancy *cortège* of heralds, and transform the functions of the office into a "titular" direction of state ceremonies, the real responsibility to devolve on a Committee of Officials representing the great departments (Household and State): the Coronation Committee would in fact be a kind of Standing Committee, to come into active operation as soon as the occasion arose for the ordering of any great ceremonial that transcended the routine of the Lord Chamberlain or Lord Steward's administration.

It had been settled that the meeting of the Committee in St. James's Palace should be the symbol of the new order, and that the Lord Chamberlain's Office, recruited from the Office of Works, would furnish the requisite staff.

There was no exception to be taken to the deferential form in which the suggestion was urged upon the acceptance of the Privy Council, and the point of principle was hardly strong enough to justify even formal protest.

Beauchamp took this view when I laid the matter before him on my return, and a few minutes later the Prime Minister raised the veil upon his commission by intimating to the Privy Council that it was the wish of the Government that the Executive Committee, on its appointment, should constitute what he called an office, through the means of which the orderly and effective discharge of ceremonial duties might be secured.

*July* 26*th.*—The promise of some electricity in the atmosphere at the first meeting of the Executive Committee was realised. The Duke entered with a clouded brow, and at once proceeded to take

some objection to the form of one of the notes of business, which, as he conceived, threatened his privileges. When, however, that was disposed of, and I had read the Prime Minister's message to the Privy Council, which I had been charged to convey to the Committee, the Memorandum prepared by Douglas Dawson on behalf of the Lord Chamberlain's department brought the point in dispute to a head, as the Earl Marshal took exception to the whole scheme on which it was proposed to run the Committee and asserted his right to nominate a separate body controlled directly by him, from which all orders relating to his personal functions should emanate. I think that the form in which the proposals were made was ill-chosen, as, if he had been asked to nominate the nucleus of the Committee's staff, leaving it to the Departments represented to supplement it by men drawn from their ranks, the plan might have been made to wear a different aspect. The Duke, however, smelt usurpation, and in a seemingly chance remark to me asked whether the Court of Claims might not in the last resort be invoked to determine the issue.

After a long discussion it was settled that each department represented should furnish a Memo. upon the business that devolved upon it, and that the Committee, when thus informed of the whole field of its activity, should proceed to determine its *modus operandi* and strive to harmonise its functions with the hereditary rights of the Earl Marshal.

The proceedings in the House of Lords upon the Committee stage of the Midwives Bill were enlivened by a prolonged duel between Beauchamp, in charge of the Bill, and Ampthill, who was charged, or who had charged himself, with a formidable list of amendments. He induced the Lords to carry one against the Government by 32 to 26, which, however, only touched a minor point; but on the larger issues, introducing questions raised in the recent report of the Poor Law Commissioners, he had no support.

Beauchamp enhanced his reputation for parliamentary skill and conciliated the Opposition by the line he took: so much so, indeed, that before the discussion had gone far Waldegrave told me that they would support the Government.

*September 30th.*—Back in London after an absence of nearly seven weeks, with an interval of three days from September 7th to 10th. For a fortnight I was yachting on the French coast, including a week at Trouville; on leaving which, I motored through a lovely stretch of forest scenery, past Pont-Audemer and Caudebec to the Abbey of Jumièges, the most magnificent of monastic ruins to be found in France, where the weight of secular piety and age-long reverence haunts you like a shadow, and so back by Lillebonne and Tancarville to Havre. After three days in Devonshire I passed a fortnight at Ammerdown and Madresfield, from which last we made an expedition down the Severn to Tewkes-

bury: a vivid page of history, not only through the long evolution of the structure itself, but, as it may be read in the series of stately tombs which it enshrines, from that of the founder, FitzHamon, the cousin of the Conqueror, whose daughter married the great Robert of Gloucester, son of King Henry I, to the long line of Despensers, recording the laurels they gathered at Poitiers and Agincourt and the penalties suffered for loyalty to unpopular Kings.

Later, on September 10th, I went to Yorkshire. From Aldborough I saw Fountains, which transcends even Jumièges in beauty of situation and lone majesty of ruin; Middleham, the stronghold of the Nevills at the apogee of their fortunes; Jervaulx, another beautiful "home of ancient peace," and Markenfield, a wonderfully preserved specimen of the moated manor-house of the fifteenth century at the epoch when the dwelling still retained some of the features of a fortress. From Aldborough we went to Duncombe Park and Hovingham. The last-named contains some things of interest, including a valuable collection of original drawings by Rembrandt, Vandyke, Dürer, and Rubens, and a sculptured group by Gian da Bologna with an authentic history, since it left his chisel at the command of Francis, the second of the Medici Grand Dukes, whence it passed to Philip II, whose son and successor presented it to Charles I upon his visit to Madrid.

We spent one afternoon at Castle Howard, the palatial proportions of which seemed a large setting for its sole occupants, Lady Carlisle's two married daughters and their families.

*October 15th.*—Political life has this week resumed its course. The first Cabinet Council took place on Wednesday (12th), the King held a Council on Thursday (13th), and the Conference continued its sittings with a frequency that greatly agitated those who prophesy without knowing. Notwithstanding, however, the gloomy vaticinations of some and the scarcely veiled hostility of the extreme section of both parties, I believe much of the lumber in the way of mutual understanding has been cleared out, and a path prepared along which statesmen with a soul above mere politics may find salvation. I had an opportunity of talking to Cawdor at some length on the subject and was much struck by the moderation of his tone.

*October 19th.*—I had luncheon at the Old Bailey with the Lord Chief Justice, who prevailed on me to go into the Court, where he was trying Crippen. I lit upon an interesting moment in the evidence, as the Home Office expert unfolded the damning significance of the things found with the remains; but the display of one potted horror after another added to the disgust which is the most salient impression the case gives. I watched the criminal most closely during these disclosures, and noticed from the nervous twitching of his right eyelid that brazen impudence was not proof

against the ordeal. The man himself is of the meanest and most hardened of his class.

*October* 23*rd.*—At Lychett with the Eustace Cecils. A lovely Sunday, with that indescribable charm which a pale autumn sun can throw over a landscape. The site of the house is admirably chosen, everything grows with spontaneity and luxuriance, and the draperies of richly variegated foliage are drawn in delicate veils across the undulations of the ground, while to the south the gleam of Poole Harbour shows itself phantasmally.

Lord Eustace Cecil is an entertaining companion and a gentleman *pur sang*. His love of the place which he has created gives an interest to his efforts as a *cicerone*, and his knowledge of trees and shrubs is an education to his guests.

*October* 28*th.*—We dined with the Frank Farquhars and met one of the Russian military attachés, a Ghurka officer, and Miss Lister, Ribblesdale's youngest daughter: a pretty girl with a manner indicative of very considerable intelligence.

*October* 31*st.*—The Coronation Committee met for the second time at St. James's Palace with a complete attendance. The Earl Marshal has won his point and is to have his own office, secretary, and staff as on the last occasion: in fact, the abatement of the claim to limit his liberty of action could hardly have been carried further. We spent an hour and a half discussing a variety of points, which might have been disposed of in half the time.

*November* 2*nd.*—I learnt to-day of considerable changes in the Government owing to Lord Morley's withdrawal from the India Office, where he is to be followed by Crewe, Harcourt going to the Colonial Office. Beauchamp is destined for the Duchy, Pease going to Storey's Gate and Lord Morley becoming Lord President, although the ceremonial duties belonging to the office are perhaps rather foreign to his tastes. After Beauchamp's interview with the Prime Minister I gathered that the change was not at all congenial to his feelings, so I went over to see Nash and took on myself to tell him that Beauchamp would have preferred to go to the Office of Works, which would have the advantage of not disturbing Pease. He at once said that, if that was so, he did not think it was too late to arrest the last change, and he would speak at once to the Prime Minister on the subject; and thus I left it.

I am satisfied at the present moment, looking to the prominent part the Chief Commissioner of Works takes in the preparations for the Coronation, that Beauchamp is far the better man for the place than Pease.

Sir E. Grey has a good story. J. Burns, on being told that Lloyd George had made himself very popular at Balmoral, replied, "I 'ear Lloyd George has a 'ousemaid's knee from cringing to Royalty."

*November 3rd.*—My conversation with Nash bore fruit, as Beauchamp saw the Prime Minister again to-day, who offered him the Chief Commissionership of Works with the remark that he had been given to understand he would prefer it. He has accepted it with marked satisfaction, and I am glad to have had a hand in bringing about so satisfactory a solution. I am told that the Prime Minister, in moving Crewe to the India Office, felt that in the state of the country, which is still scarcely recovered from the recent commotion, he must have there the strongest man at his disposal, and public opinion will, I have no doubt, ratify the selection. Lord Morley, I am also informed, would not have taken any other place than the Lord Presidency. He is by no means insensible to the attraction of ancient and eminent office, nor will he be disinclined to discharge the ceremonial duties attaching to it: indeed, they go further, and say that the trappings of an exalted position are themselves appreciated.

*November 5th.*—In reply to my letter of greeting Lord Morley writes:

"Dear Sir Almeric FitzRoy,

"Thank you for your kind note and promise of welcome. You will not hold me in too severe bondage, I trust? You will find me very docile, I assure you.

"Yours sincerely,

"Morley *of B.*

"Pray drop my territorial tag whenever possible."

In expressing my regret at losing Beauchamp I had said it was "a consolatory reflection that he (Lord M.) had consented to confer dignity" on so great and ancient an office; it dates, indeed, from the first years of Henry VIII, and has therefore a story of four centuries. His answer displays those qualities of generosity and good feeling which are his in the estimation of all who know him best, and my connection with the mellow afternoon of a great career bids fair to be interesting.

I had some conversation with Nash about the vacant Garter, which seems likely to go to Minto, unless he prefers some other recognition, as the Prime Minister rates his services very highly.

*November 7th.*—I went over to the India Office this morning to see Lord Morley, who received me very cordially. In regard to the work at the Privy Council Office, he hoped I would give him as much liberty as I could, and asked whether it was necessary to come every day. On learning that he could as a rule confine his attendance to the afternoon, he observed with a smile, "Then I can give my mornings to literature!" I told him, moreover, that I had been there long enough to know what I could do on my own responsibility, and what ought to be left to him, and should

of course consult his convenience in every way. He would find, further, nothing left over to him by his predecessor, in which connection he mentioned with some amusement that when the resignation of Lord Wolverhampton was imminent, he said quite seriously, "I give you my word there are no arrears in the office." He also asked whether he could affirm, as he did in the House of Commons, instead of taking the oath of office, though he did not want to disturb the usual arrangements. I reminded him that, on becoming a Secretary of State, he took the oath of office; he was also resworn a Privy Councillor at the beginning of the reign; to which he replied thoughtfully, "Ah! I have no scruples on the point."

The Council was held was held in one of the small rooms at Marlborough House, which is in process of being dismantled. Beauchamp acted as Lord President at the commencement, and gave place to his successor on Lord Morley being "declared" by the King. Crewe and Harcourt were installed as Secretaries of State for India and the Colonies respectively; the proceedings having commenced with George Buchanan being sworn on appointment as Ambassador to Russia. Afterwards Beauchamp took the oath of office as Chief Commissioner of Works before the Lord President. He seems quite reconciled to the change, and has written me a very appreciative letter in regard to the months he spent at the Privy Council Office. He has great quickness in making up his mind, and his judgment is as a rule sound; he has, moreover, considerable resolution, and is likely to prove a valuable addition to the counsels of any Government to which he may belong.

*November* 12*th.*—After being in bed for two days, I was able to attend the nomination of the Sheriffs, at which, in the absence of the Lord Chief Justice, Lord Morley had agreed to be present. Lloyd George was very accommodating, and met my views in every case where exemption was pleaded. Lord Morley did not find the proceedings dull, for, as he said afterwards, "It was of great interest to me to hear the names of the old county families of England." He subsequently repaired to the British Museum to attend a meeting of the Trustees. Cunningham, his private secretary, took him up in his motor, which had to be stopped in order to avoid running over a man who was carrying a heavy pack. Cunningham expressed himself somewhat impatiently of the man's stupidity, upon which Lord Morley remarked, "Emerson said you should never speak lightly of a man who is bearing a burden."

*November* 15*th.*—The Tory Party and their associates seem bent on political suicide. The lessons of the last twelve months have been lost, and they are engaged in precipitating a crisis which prudent statesmanship could have avoided not only with honour, but advantage.

I hold no brief for the Government, which contains reckless and menacing elements, but Asquith, on going into the Conference, held these elements in check, and I have the best reason for knowing that the Government representatives went a long way towards making every possible concession to the views and feelings of their opponents, in order to reach an accommodation that should stand the test of time; and I further know that an arrangement which finally brought both parties into substantial accord was within an ace of being concluded. Other counsels unfortunately prevailed, influences which had been held in suspense and kept at a distance infiltrated into the area of negotiation, external advices asserted themselves, and the foolish cry, "Better perish at the hands of the constituencies than of the Conference," was raised, with fatal effect.

Dining last night with Sir H. and Lady Stephenson, we met Sir Arthur Wilson, the greatest figure which the British Navy has produced since Nelson. Of unimpressive appearance at first sight, he soon gives you a sense of power in reserve, unquenchable energy, and a directness of purpose which no blandishments could pervert. It was his convinced opinion that no Board of Admiralty, whatever the political complexion of the Government, ever failed to meet the requirements of the nation. Some talked of the great amount they were going to do and did less, others talked of doing less and were constrained to do more. Expert advice always in the long run prevailed, and he did not believe that the naval members of any Board would hesitate to resign if an unwise parsimony imperilled the safety of the nation.

*November* 16*th.*—The situation undergoes remarkable changes: no sooner has one party taken the false step of bringing the conference to a close, in order that the judgment of the constituencies should be invoked, than the other caps the indiscretion by attempting to force a dissolution at the bidding of its extreme supporters without having a technical case to claim from the Crown the exercise of its prerogative in that regard. Lord Morley, in discussing the matter this morning, was perfectly frank in agreeing that the King's position in refusing Mr. Asquith's request was a very strong one, and that of the Government, "*so far as it was at present developed,*" very weak. The surprising thing is that a statesman of Asquith's experience and resource should have committed himself to a demand which constitutional practice and the dignity of the Crown obliged the King to refuse. God forbid that the machinery of the Constitution should come to be the vehicle of party rancour; from that risk we have been saved by the prudence and courage of George V.

All this manœuvring to get the best of the start is both mean and futile. I put it to Lord Morley that the tactics of the Opposition were to defer a General Election till the new year, and the

tactics of the Government to get it over before Christmas; on which he remarked drily, "You have described the situation exactly." The curious thing is that the Government, before they were certain how they stood, should have allowed some of their own men and all their newspapers to threaten an immediate dissolution. The King requiring the submission of some proof that Ministers were powerless in a Parliament of their own choosing, in which so far they have not met with a rebuff in either House and during the existence of which they have not lost a seat, it became impossible to resist Lord Lansdowne's demand that the Parliament Bill should be proceeded with. The scene in the House of Lords was memorable, the feeling tense, and the air electrical. Lord Crewe, I am bound to say with a very ill grace, agreed to introduce the Bill forthwith. After Lord Lansdowne's finished and compact argument, Lord Crewe no doubt felt himself in a false position and showed less than his usual skill in extricating himself; and when Lord Rosebery got up and plied him with certain awkward questions, he resorted to the brusque announcement that it was not the Government's intention to accept any amendments.

*November* 18*th*.—As Lord Morley not obscurely hinted, the situation has developed to a point at which the King's scruples in regard to an immediate dissolution have been overcome. He was in London on Thursday, and Asquith appears to have satisfied him that the Government being so convinced of the contumacy of the House of Lords, were without moral strength to remain in office unless they were free to draw fresh authority from the constituencies. Accordingly, the Prime Minister and Crewe made simultaneous statements in both Houses that the dissolution was provisionally fixed for the 28th, by which time the necessary financial business would be concluded, and the House of Lords have had an opportunity to express its views on the Parliament Bill. Mr. Balfour took the announcement philosophically, having indeed anticipated it in his Nottingham speech; but Lord Lansdowne protested with great vivacity against what he described as a breach of faith and the virtual ignoring of Parliament.

*November* 21*st*.—At Vauxhall this morning I saw the Lansdownes and Alfred Lyttelton returning from Hackwood, where a caucus of the Tory leaders had met for Sunday. Lady Lansdowne told me "Arthur and the whole gang" had been there, and of course we looked for an important decision this evening.

We were dining with Lady St. Helier when I was surprised to learn from Lord St. Aldwyn that the motion for the second reading of the Parliament Bill had been met by the adjournment of the debate, in preparation for the introduction of Lord Lansdowne's resolutions on Wednesday. It seems that here again the Opposition have been betrayed into an error of tactics and the advantage

of Lord Lansdowne's move in asking for the Parliament Bill thrown away. Having conceded the demand for the production of the Bill, the Government could hardly refuse opportunity for its consideration, and the opportunity, properly handled, might have left their opponents in command of parliamentary time for the remainder of the Session.

Besides the St. Aldwyns there were at dinner Lady Middleton and Lady Alington, the Fabian Wares, Sir D. Straight, Sir W. Garstin, and Mr. Monypenny. I had a long talk with the last-named after dinner. He spoke with diffidence, but as I thought very justly, of the political events which had led to the present crisis. His reading of the circumstances in which the House of Lords had thrown out the Budget largely coincided with the result of my own observation. Supineness in high quarters had, he declared, allowed the Tory Press to prejudge the liberty of choice open to their leader, so that, when the moment came for a decision, he had no alternative but to give effect to the foregone conclusion of his followers.

*November 24th.*—I have had great difficulty in making Ministers understand the procedure which has to be followed when Parliament is in session at the date of a dissolution. Two separate Acts of State in Council are required, an Order proroguing Parliament and a Proclamation dissolving it; but the last instrument has to follow the formal prorogation by Royal Commission, and therefore it was impossible to get the matter concluded at Windsor, as they had advised His Majesty. However, I explained it carefully in a letter to Knollys yesterday, and heard this morning that the King would, as I had suggested, come to London on Monday and hold two Councils, one at eleven and the other at one.

Lord Morley, who has been at Windsor during the week, spoke to me with great earnestness of the impression the King had produced on him by his "cleverness, scruple, and quickness of mind." On my saying I thought him extremely conscientious, he replied: "He is full of conscience"; on which I observed that I hoped his political conscience would long have the benefit of his (Lord Morley's) direction. "My dear Sir Almeric," he said with some emotion, "if the Government remain in office, I shall not do so long; I want a quieter place even than this!"

*November 25th.*—The course of the debate on Lord Lansdowne's resolutions, which were accepted last night, has proved, as I anticipated, more fatal to the pretensions of the House of Lords than anything contained in the Parliament Bill. Between him and Lord Rosebery little vestige of its prescriptive power and immemorial constitution would remain; whereas the Government scheme leaves its name and structure untouched, merely adjusting its powers to the balance of supreme authority in the same way as those of the Crown have long since been adjusted. Its veto

has disappeared for two centuries, and yet Edward VII enjoyed more influence than Queen Anne ; and a House of Lords deprived of the veto might in a hundred ways modify legislation and influence policy. But, in the fear of what may happen, they have torn up their robes of State and burnt their title-deeds.

The sex war broke out with unprecedented fury this week, the pusillanimity of the Home Secretary in withdrawing the charge in the case of the first disturbers of the peace being followed by a most violent attack upon the houses of Ministers and the persons of such as were within reach. In order to reinforce the strength at the disposal of the militant " suffragettes," a large number of young women, seasoned by hockey, were brought up from the suburbs and placed along the lines of communication between the House of Commons and Pall Mall. The Prime Minister escaped owing to the timely advent of a private motor, but poor Mr. Birrell was the subject of a merciless outrage while walking up the asphalt path between the Parade Ground and St. James's Park. Lionel Earle had left the Colonial Office about 5.30, when he saw a knot of women maltreating an old gentleman ; he charged through them, knocking two down, and found Birrell, with his hat reduced to pulp, trying to defend himself against a gang of infuriated members of the " gentle sex," who were engaged in kicking his shins. Earle drove them off with the remains of his broken umbrella, and escorted the victim to the Duke of York's Steps. Birrell, with astonishing forbearance, declined his proposal that he should give the assailants in charge, contenting himself with upbraiding their foolishness. Fortunately his eyes, which are always covered with spectacles, did not suffer, but an attack of this character on a defenceless old man by an organised band of " janissaries " will, it is hoped, convince many people of the insane and anarchical spirit actuating the movement.

*November 29th.*—The King came to London this morning and held the Prorogation Council at eleven, Lords Morley, Beauchamp, Chesterfield, and Spencer being present. Lord Morley told me on the way to Buckingham Palace that he had very grave doubts about the issue of the Election, and seemed impressed with Monypenny's opinion that a slide might take place on the Tory side. He is going to speak in Manchester the day following Lord Rosebery's address at a "non-political" meeting : he called Lord Rosebery one of his greatest friends, but politically he thought him unaccountable and unstable. He was inclined to consider his studies of Chatham an indication of a wish to play his rôle, as a solvent of party connections in the present day, without reflecting that the external conditions which made it possible in the eighteenth century were not realisable now ; and perhaps unconscious that the weight of personal characteristic had a different direction. The great talents of Chatham,

moreover, were largely sterilised by his isolation. Lord Morley wound up his remarks with the hope that, at any rate, "Lord Rosebery would not involve us in a seven years' war!"

The second Council was held at one, Lord Knollys taking Spencer's place, and so the Parliament which were elected last January passed into oblivion. Without inspiration, and under the direction of no dominant personality, it has merely reflected the uncertainties of the hour.

*November 30th.*—I dined last night with the Royal Society of Medicine, for bringing which into existence by Royal Charter I had some responsibility. I sat between Sir Joseph Dimsdale, one of the most vehement Tories I ever met, and Sir R. Douglas Powell. Sir H. Morris was in the chair. Sir D. Powell, in proposing the toast of the guests, twitted the representatives of the new nobility, Lords Blyth and Ilkeston, with the facility with which they, in the character of new wine, accommodated themselves to old bottles. Sir H. Morris made a very long and laboured harangue.

*December 4th.*—The polls, the results of which were declared yesterday, have brought no satisfaction to either party; though in the north, and especially Lancashire, where the Government last January maintained their position fairly well, some losses have been incurred. There are indications, however, of the Opposition not doing so well in London and the south. With nearly a sixth of the House elected, and a displacement of only four seats to the detriment of Ministers, it is not likely that the net result will place the Unionists in power; but, on the other hand, the Government will not return to Westminster with any convincing claim to an improved mandate. If the end of it all is to force both parties to the accommodation over which the Conference was wrecked, prudent statesmanship may yet claim credit for some advance in political sanity.

In dissolving the Conference at the particular moment chosen, the Opposition was understood to challenge an early dissolution, and the action of the Government was dictated by the desire to over-trump their opponents and give them the General Election they asked for a little too soon to be convenient.

*December 12th.*—The polls shown from day to day have resulted in minute oscillations of the balance, and at the time I write the gains and losses are even. On closer scrutiny, however, it would appear that the trend of advantage is towards the Opposition; not only have their gains been made in the most significant quarter, viz. Lancashire, but there have been some redoubtable reductions of hostile majorities in populous West Riding constituencies. The popular vote in Great Britain is almost evenly divided, and, but for the abnormally large number of uncontested seats, would be against the Government. No one sees the sig-

nificance of these facts more clearly than Lord Morley, whom I saw for the first time this morning since the General Election began. He spoke with his usual weight and candour, and made no attempt to disguise the critical situation with which both parties and the King would have to deal. The position of His Majesty he thought particularly difficult, as, if the demand should be made for him to create 500 peers, he thought he would have very good reason for refusing, doubtful as the consequences might be. He spoke, he said, with a fuller knowledge of the disposition of the Unionist leaders than of his own colleagues, none of whom he had seen, and he believed that Arthur Balfour would take office if, owing to the King's refusal, the Government were to resign. Of course another dissolution would follow, when he thought it likely that the country, in despair of any other expedient, would give the Unionists a majority. He considered, on the whole, that the Opposition held the stronger cards, though their position was by no means free from risk: at any rate, they could ask the country for a homogeneous support, whereas Ministers could only rely upon a composite majority, a section of which was able to turn them out at a moment's notice. To my suggestion that surely the hour would come for the renewal of negotiations by means of which a permanent solution of the constitutional question could be obtained, "Yes," he said, "if the House of Lords were to amend the Parliament Bill in a spirit which admitted of compromise, that result may be achieved." There were many Peers, he thought, who would like to retrieve the error committed by the rejection of the Budget, and, as an indication of that feeling, quoted some Peer who said to him, "I gave that vote with misgiving, but I had no idea when I did so that I risked the sacrifice of all my hereditary rights, as a member of the Legislature."

*December 15th.*—I saw Buckle this afternoon, who shook his head over the situation. I reminded him that we were still suffering from the effects of the rejection of the Budget to which the Lords had been hounded on by all the forces of the Tory press. I admitted that at the outset the great paper which he represented had tried to preserve the balance of its judgment, but to so little purpose that it too joined in the cry, and the whole *meute*, once on the scent, proved too strong for the wisdom and self-restraint of the Peers and their leaders. Though the onslaught was little to his liking, he could not deny its substantial justice. In seeking for some extenuating plea, he argued that the Unionist Party were getting worn out by the paucity of their numbers, and that the General Election at least reinforced their ranks, and relieved Arthur Balfour of a strain which had become insupportable. I did not see how that improved the case, as by his own confession the Tory Party were led to violate con-

stitutional practice and imperil the principle of bi-cameral government for the mere temporary advantage of winning a few score seats, which I told him I felt confident they would have had an opportunity of doing in any case ere long, and that under conditions far more favourable to their success. In answer to this he had nothing to say.

*December 16th.*—The inaugural meeting of the Court of Claims took place in the Council-chamber, the Lord Chancellor presiding. The Lord President, the Earl Marshal, the Lord Chamberlain, Lord Halsbury, the Lord Chief Justice, Lords Ashbourne, Shaw, and Macnaghten, and the Master of the Rolls were present. Lord Halsbury's wig was late in arriving, and he entered the court, as Lord Ashbourne said, "pairtly dressed." On the arrival of the wig it proved to be the wrong one, but he made the best of it and returned into court with it all awry at the back of his head.

The Lord Chancellor limited himself to explaining the procedure which would be followed, the court being cleared during about five and twenty minutes for private deliberation.

*December 22nd.*—The Treasury created a scare that a Council would be necessary while the King was at Sandringham, for a Proclamation regulating the issue of new silver coins, which had not been included in the last instrument on the subject. I was very loth to put forward such a request, as, besides the inconvenience to Lord Morley, I knew it would be distasteful to the King to be invaded during his holiday at York Cottage. Macartney came down from the Mint at my request and undertook in the circumstances the responsibility of issuing such coins as were necessary without the authority of a Proclamation, if I would obtain the King's consent to hold one as early in the month as he could. Macartney told me that the difficulty had arisen owing to the refusal of the Chancellor of the Exchequer to settle certain outstanding points until the last moment. The obverse of the half-crowns was the crux, Lloyd George objecting to St. George and the Dragon on the ground that it was exclusively English! When I saw Lord Morley I told him that he had to thank Mr. Lloyd George for all the trouble, owing to his reluctance to attend to his business, upon which his colleague said with a sniff, "That is rather a strong point with him."

*December 25th.*—We had luncheon with the Fevershams, and, notwithstanding the frailty of both of them, which naturally gave rise to melancholy thoughts, the party of eight went off cheerfully, Ulrica and Everard Baring and Hubert Duncombe making the others. Hubert, who claims to be, and I daresay is, an experienced and sagacious electioneerer, felt confident that the Conservatives would win the next General Election, but I had no opportunity of testing the grounds of his confidence.

*December 30th.*—It appears we shall have some difficulty with Lloyd George over this question of the Welsh Arms, so called, as he is not prepared to accept the decision of the Committee of the Privy Council, which has been approved by the King as a step to its formal submission and sanction by Order in Council. It is with him a question of racial vainglory. The propriety of including the emblems of Wales in the Royal Arms is, after all, an heraldic problem, to be settled in accordance with the accepted rules and recognised practice of heraldry; but he seems to think that armorial symbols can be introduced into a coat as easily as you could shoot rubbish on a Welsh waste. He is abroad for the present, but has asked that no further step shall be taken till his return. It is for the Lord President to decide whether we shall hold our hands, but in any case we are in for a sharp fight, which I am prepared to take to the finish. The matter has, in fact, been determined by the King's approval of the designs for the new coinage, from the arms included in which there could be no departure.

## 1911

*January 12th.*—The Coronation Committee met for the fourth time. The Duke of Norfolk, having accepted the Committee as a curtailment of his authority, is so studiously deferential as to take next to nothing on himself, and McDonnell [1] almost assumes direction. A step towards progress was taken by the reference of two minor matters to sub-committees.

*January 17th.*—Lord Morley saw the Prime Minister to-day and discussed, among other things, how Lloyd George should be handled if he persisted with his Red Dragon fanfaronade. I had given Lord Morley a brief note in which I treated the Chancellor of the Exchequer's pretensions with more vigour than tenderness. Lord Morley was much amused, and took it to the Prime Minister, saying that it must not be shown Lloyd George. Unfortunately, he left it in Downing Street, where it will probably reach that gentleman's eyes.

*January 20th.*—I saw Lord Morley before the Cabinet this morning, to give him the points in the controversy with Lloyd George. He adopted the method "I know nothing about it, what am I to say?" eliciting exactly what he wanted to learn in half a dozen pointed questions. This mode of equipping himself is worth all that can be acquired by conning pages of memoranda. In the result Lloyd George appears to have been satisfied with Lord Morley's promise to see Mr. Llewellyn Williams, a Welsh Member who has made himself prominent as an advocate of the

[1] Hon. Sir Schomberg McDonnell, Secretary Office of Works.

change, and not long ago imparted his views to the Press with a number of statements he will have great difficulty in proving.

*January* 21*st.*—An Indian magnate sent Christmas greetings to Lord Morley in these terms: "I desire with your gracious lady, your venerable children, and your magnanimous lordship, a merry Christmas."

I have heard two new stories of John Burns. E. Montagu, who was at that time Asquith's parliamentary secretary, was sitting in the adjoining room on the day when the Cabinet considered the first draft of Lloyd George's Budget. John Burns came through, and on Montagu asking how the Cabinet were getting on, replied, "Like nineteen ragpickers round a 'eap of muck!" The second is even better. Last summer, when Redmond's attitude was the subject of discussion, Burns broke in, "If you tell Redmond to go to 'ell, he'll come to 'eel."

*January* 23*rd.*—Council at Windsor. Only Lord Morley and Crewe went down, as the Duke of Connaught, Sir Arthur Bigge, and Lord Knollys were on the spot. We had luncheon before the Council, when Lady Ampthill presided in her freshly assumed character as Lady-in-Waiting, two of the new Maids of Honour, Miss Brodrick and Miss Gye, being also in attendance.

As Crewe had to wait for an audience on important matters connected with the Coronation Durbar, Lord Morley and I returned together, which gave me a greatly appreciated opportunity of talking to him at some length. As we had plenty of spare time, he preferred walking to the station, and the venerable statesman leant upon my arm as we proceeded thither in a burst of warm sunshine. As we had just left Acton, who was in attendance as Lord-in-Waiting, the remark that heredity did not seem to have entered conspicuously into the forces that fashioned him led to the discovery that Lord Morley shared to the full the immense admiration I had for Acton's father. I was also pleased to find he agreed with me in the estimate I had been led to form of his "Lectures on the French Revolution," the only part of his output which gave an adequate notion not only of the extent of his erudition, but of the compass of his intellectual grasp. He thought, too, that his style in those lectures had at last freed itself from the trammels of a too concentrated vehicle of expression, the whole subject being illuminated by a suppleness and play of thought which the previous courses had not displayed. He told me how it came about that Lord Acton spent five of the most receptive years of his youth with Döllinger, with the result that Döllinger became his master and inspirer in the fields of historical research. So little do even the greatest of men know the spheres in which they are most likely to shine, Lord Acton was, he said, gravely disappointed because Mr. Gladstone, on coming into office in 1892, did not offer him a Secretaryship of

State, or had not earlier sent him as Ambassador to Berlin. Lord Morley was inclined to speculate somewhat ruefully what would have happened if he had been entangled in the meshes of German diplomacy, and how little chance his simple integrity could have had in contact with the traditions of Prussian policy. We then passed on to topics connected with recent political history, over which his serene outlook, urbane judgment, and ripe experience threw a wonderful light. His whole survey, too, was rendered more convincing and agreeable by the generous appreciation of his political opponents, which shone through every sentence of which they were the subject.

The Duke of Devonshire, Lord Salisbury, Mr. Balfour, Lord St. Aldwyn, and Lord Lansdowne were all passed in review, and it is difficult to say which stood highest in his estimation on the score of their special and peculiar gifts. He told me that when Mr. Gladstone shared the front Opposition Bench with the Duke during the greater part of Lord Salisbury's second Administration, he could not sit patiently under his forceful and sledge-hammer criticism, and on one occasion ejaculated, "He never made such speeches as these when he spoke in defence of my Government." Of Lord Salisbury's profound political insight and prudent statesmanship he spoke with deep feeling, and, in discussing Arthur Balfour, mentioned with great interest that it was he, as editor of "The Fortnightly," that gave the other his first chance to show his power as a dialectician. Long afterwards he told me Mr. Balfour had said, "You are the first man who taught me that I had a brain." He greatly regretted that Lord St. Aldwyn's influence had not been exerted to better purpose, while appreciating the motives of his self-effacement, a quality which he had shown on signal occasions, notably when he submitted first to the leadership of Randolph Churchill and finally of Mr. Balfour. Lord Lansdowne's adroitness, polished address, and power of parliamentary fence came in for high encomiums, in connection with which he also, *par parenthèse*, did justice to Crewe's talent as a leader. "He is one of themselves; they like him, and he knows how to handle them." He was very intimate with the late Lord Houghton, whose extraordinary lack of dignity was, he thought, responsible for the studious decorum, not to say stiffness, of his son's personal and parliamentary manner: he had learnt, at any rate, from his parent what was to be avoided.

We then touched upon the present political situation, which drew from him an expression of profound regret that the House of Lords had been betrayed into the cardinal error of rejecting a Budget and probably submerged the influence of the Tory Party for half a generation. "Why," he said, "if they had not done it, the House of Lords might have passed unscathed through the troubles of the next thirty years, and the Unionist Party

would without doubt have been in office now." He confirmed what I have always felt to be the case, that the untoward decision taken fifteen months ago had shifted the centre of gravity in the Liberal Party to the extreme left, and enormously enhanced the weight of dangerous counsels; and he had a fear that another *coup d'état* of the same character was awaiting the Parliament Bill. He then enlarged upon the tactics which he thought the Opposition ought to pursue. It was curious to hear him indicate a policy which would be embarrassing to his own friends, but the honesty and conviction with which he spoke was indisputable. His plan of operations would be to drag the preamble of the Bill into light in season and out of season; such tactics would, he said, sow dissension in the ministerial ranks, as half the orthodox Liberals were bitterly opposed to it. The effect of the Opposition strategy had been to cement the discordant elements of the majority, when it should have been directed to foment their differences. This he attributed to Mr. Balfour's weariness, the influence of others who were blind leaders of the blind, and the attempt to put mere tactics before a wide and reasoned view of political opportunity. Defective vision had been fostered by ignorant and sectional intrigues in the Press; Buckle was honest and able, but had a very difficult task with his Board, Harmsworth finding that his pecuniary losses are greater than he likes to incur. This, he believed, accounted for the spasmodic movements of the paper, now in one direction, now in another, without continuity of purpose or definiteness of aim. In the whole course of his political life he had never known a great party reduced to such a condition of impotence, men's hearts failing them for fear, and without the courage or the confidence to formulate and sustain any principles of conduct. The result had been a crisis of nerves and complete paralysis of judgment.

One personal touch in his conversation was amusing. The Prime Minister "somewhat gravely" asked him the other day whether he had noticed that two of his immediate predecessors as Lord President had gone off their heads. He replied, "Well, on the smallest sign which I show at a Cabinet of aberration of mind, I hope you will tell me."

*January 27th.*—The Court of Claims met for the second time. The sole argument of any interest was connected with "the Spurs": the only one of the three claimants present, Grey de Ruthyn, emphasised his feelings by an agitation of posture that suggested he was sitting on the objects of his claim. The Lord Chancellor acquitted himself with great dignity and shortened the sitting by the resolute restraint he put on prolixity.

*January 28th.*—Luncheon at 87 Eaton Square, to celebrate my uncle's eighty-second birthday. The three sisters were there, on whose beauty time writes no wrinkle. Lord Aber-

gavenny came up from Bath, notwithstanding his eighty-four years, and we were fifteen in all. Curiously enough, before they left the room both our host and hostess had falls, but, as neither suffered any harm, we could afford to treat the matter humorously rather than ominously.

*January 30th.*—Lord Morley, at the request of Mr. Lloyd George, received Mr. Llewellyn Williams to hear what he had to say on the great question of the Red Dragon and the Royal Arms. He made great play with what he described as the Act of Union between England and Wales (35 Hen. VIII), which was not an Act of Union at all, but merely a declaration that the union had always existed, superseding at the same time the jurisdiction of the Lords Marchers and every other authority peculiar to Wales by the introduction of the laws of England. However, this false premiss was enough upon which to base an elaborate argument, whereby he sought to show that the relation of Wales to the Crown was of the same nature as that of Scotland and Ireland. Scott-Gatty, who was present, added no strength to the case of the College of Arms by his confused mode of expressing himself. I showed that the proposal to place the real Arms of Wales as an escutcheon of pretence, on the arms of the Prince of Wales, was not only the most proper but the most signal way of recognising the special position of Wales, and in his reply Lord Morley emphasised this point of view and showed the untenable nature of the Welsh claims. The discussion lasted fully three-quarters of an hour, and Mr. Williams cannot therefore complain that he has not enjoyed ample opportunity for the statement of his case. The real fact is, the importance given to the claim forms part of the demand for the recognition of Wales as a separate entity of the United Kingdom. Lord Morley's comment on Garter's help was severe: "He doesn't seem to know his own simple business."

*February 3rd.*—Carrington asked Lord Morley to carry the sword of state at the opening of Parliament, which he resolutely refused to do. When he was at Windsor the Queen spoke of his refusal with regret, upon which he replied, "Madam, it is not at all in my line; a shepherd's crook would be more suitable."

*February 4th.*—A Council to-day for the swearing in of the new Privy Councillors and the approval of the King's Speech. Lords Morley, Beauchamp, Granard, and J. Seely formed the Council. Sir C. Schwann, Sir J. C. Rickett, Mr. Abraham (Mabon), and Mr. Cheetham were sworn; not a batch of any commanding character. Abraham is a man of huge proportions and a fine, rough-hewn countenance. Sir J. Rickett, who preceded him kissing the King's hand, backed into his stomach as the other advanced, and rebounded with such force that I was a little nervous where he might land. Possibly this may have disconcerted

Mabon, beeause, instead of kissing the King's hand, he lifted his face towards His Majesty, and while his right hand clasped the King's, he waved on high with the left the Gospels on which he was sworn: altogether a very diverting interlude, which the King supported with admirable composure.

I succeeded in reaching both the political parties: the Prime Minister managed the hordes he entertained (3,000 were asked) very effectively, distributing them through the two houses in Downing Street and the Whips' rooms. I was fortunate in obtaining a lift to Lansdowne House from the Lalaings, who, armed with Legation privileges, swept through the throng. Once arrived, there was plenty of room for circulation; the company were very distinguished, and the rooms looked as splendid as ever.

*February 6th.*—We had a large party of children at the Privy Council Office for the Royal Procession to the Houses of Parliament. "Queenie" Helmsley brought two; Lady Beauchamp's two boys and her niece, Lady Ursula Grosvenor, came in charge of two governesses, and Mrs. Granville Farquhar had a boy and girl with her. The reception of Their Majesties on the Parade Ground, where the crowd was thickest, was very cordial.

I heard the mover and seconder of the Address in the House of Lords. While Lord Ilkeston was speaking, George Russell told me a delightful story of his practice as a medical pundit. Being consulted by a man whose wife was addicted to drink, he readily agreed to take the case, explaining that the way to deal with a passion of the kind was to thrust it out with a stronger one. "Now love," he said, "is the strongest of the passions. I will make her fall in love with me, and I engage in a week she will be at my feet." The husband declined the experiment; he thought a passion for drink the lesser evil.

Willingdon's speech in seconding the Address was a distinct success; his matter produced a very favourable impression, and the moderation of his sentiments secured the good-will of his audience. George Russell, no bad judge, murmured in my ear "A very pleasant speaker!"

The Coronation Committee of the Privy Council met this afternoon in Lord Morley's room. In addition to the Lord President, the Duke of Norfolk, Lords Carrington, Beauchamp, Spencer, and Granard attended. There was some little discussion on the form of the Order to the Dean and Chapter to hand over Westminster Abbey to the Earl Marshal, and it was agreed to make no change, Lord Morley describing himself as very conservative in these matters.

The announcement which reached me early this morning, that Cawdor had passed away, caused acute regret. I had known him so long and so intimately, that, apart from the public reasons

that led me to deplore his removal, I have the sense of a grave personal loss. His courage and high integrity of purpose rendered him an attractive figure in political life, and his warmth of heart and loyalty of nature gave him a very firm hold on the affections of his friends. He was a most genial companion. Many a time, when we were both detained in London during August, we dined together at the Travellers', and always finished the evening by sharing a pint of the oldest port. His work at the Admiralty was clouded by ill-health, and the time he spent there all too short to add much to his reputation; but, with a longer test, the character he gained as a first-rate man of business while he presided over the G.W.R. would have been amply vindicated. He was the only addition to Mr. Balfour's Government in the melancholy period of its decay, 1903–5, which enhanced its character and reinforced its strength. Few men of his generation enjoyed so general an esteem, and it is not saying too much that he takes with him on his last voyage the regretful affection of many.

*February 9th.*—I had luncheon with the Granards in their new house. A fine hall has been added in the centre and a branching staircase built behind. The rooms have been decorated in the style of late Louis XIV, the panelling in many cases having been brought from dismantled palaces in the South of France. Lady Granard has graceful manners, and, besides her good looks, appears to have feelings that do her credit. Mrs. Hwfa Williams, Francis Hopwood, and Mr. Harris were there.

Granard described Lord Lansdowne's voiee during his tribute to Cawdor as broken with emotion: indeed, at times he was so overcome that he could hardly proceed.

Bernard Holland came to see me in the evening to talk over my relations with the Duke of Devonshire, whose life he is engaged in writing, and I promised to give him a Memo. on the aspects of the Duke's character and methods with which I was familiar.

I saw Lord Gosford at the Travellers', who told me the Duchess was making an extraordinary rally, though ten days ago she had pneumonia so acutely that her life was despaired of. Her indomitable spirit, however, pulled her through, and, though in a state of physical exhaustion, she is already forming plans for dinners at Monte Carlo.

*February 11th.*—Dined last night with Eddy and Lady Bessie Dawson. She was looking very well. I took her sister in to dinner, and had the Countess de Lalaing on the other side. A pleasant evening.

Holy Trinity, Brompton, was thronged this morning to take farewell of Cawdor. Statesmen and diplomatists, members of both branches of the Legislature, distinguished sailors and administrators, and hosts of personal friends, were there, animated by the same emotion. The personal note is everything, and the

pathos of a bright career prematurely closed and a most engaging figure removed touches every heart to tears as the last dread silence falls.

*February 25th.*—At Bernard Holland's request I sent him a Memo. recording the impressions I gathered of the Duke of Devonshire during the years I had the privilege of association with him. Lord Morley expressed a desire to see it, and was good enough to take great interest in what I said, adding his belief that my estimate of him was substantially true. This morning I heard from Holland: "I am very grateful to you for your appreciation of the Duke, and I shall hope to include it as it stands. I intend to close the book with passages from the speeches made in Parliament after his death, and this might go with them. It seems to me written in an excellent and heart-felt manner, and I am glad to know that so good a judge as Lord Morley approves of it. After studying the Duke's life all through, I agree with you that he was the noblest figure among the statesmen of his day. Not one of them died with such a like absence of blot on his scutcheon. I hope that the book may do some good in raising the standard for young men now embarked upon political life."

*March 1st.*—Last night we had a dinner and ball at 6 St. James's Square, which Alfred Farquhar financed. The house is not only beautiful in itself, in the stately vogue of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, but admirably adapted for entertaining. We had thirty-six people at dinner, including Mary Curzon, Cynthia Graham, Eddy and Lady Bessie Dawson, Mrs. and Miss Adeane, Lady Delia Spencer, Desmond Fitzgerald, Lady Cecily Browne, Mrs. and Miss Lawson, Frank and Evelyn Farquhar, Miss Fenella Trefusis, Miss Aurea Baring, Edward Cadogan, Sir Edward Ward, the Russian Military Attaché, and others. The ball was attended by some 400 people, and was kept up with spirit till nearly 4 a.m. Universal satisfaction was expressed, and we had every reason to be content with the result of much careful planning.

*March 3rd.*—Lord Morley's dinner in connection with the "pricking" of the Sheriffs took place this evening at Claridge's, the Ministers present being the Prime Minister, Crewe, the Lord Chancellor, Winston Churchill, John Burns, Pentland, Samuel, and J. Pease. Lord Morley had taken great trouble about the *menu* and wines, with the result that the dinner was excellent and the conversation sparkling. Of course the lion's share fell to Winston, whom his colleagues, especially the Prime Minister, encouraged to spread himself. Certainly he is a wonderful talker, daring, not to say reckless, but always with a subcurrent of method, striking in phrase, vivid in colour, eloquent to the verge of romance, picturesquely vehement, and at the same time persuasive.

A reference to the Declaration of London led him to denounce any restrictions on the right of British seamen to do as they liked, which drew from Crewe the remark that he had all the spirit of the buccaneer, and would have been in his element in the sixteenth century as a captain under Drake. Samuel, who was next me, said dryly: "He would prefer having Drake as a captain under him." The condition of parliamentary life nowadays was also the subject of animated discussion, in special reference to the opportunities it gave to able young men who desired to make a mark. Winston contended that the difficulties were infinitely greater than when he entered Parliament, and still more so as compared with the state of things twenty or thirty years ago. This John Burns and Asquith, supported by Lord Morley, strenuously denied; and Asquith, drawing his illustrations from the second reading debate on the Parliament Bill, declared that there was never a moment during those four nights when a new member of real ability could not have taken the House by storm, just as effectively as F. E. Smith in the early days of the 1906–1910 Parliament. But, he went on to say, search the benches on either side, and you could not find the man with talent sufficient to seize the opportunity.

While this conversation was proceeding Crewe gradually sank into silence, and my attention was soon concentrated upon the pale and rigid look his countenance assumed. His immediate neighbours did not, however, seem to notiee it, till Cunningham, Lord Morley's Private Secretary, went round to his chief. As we rose from the table, Crewe went first to the door, which I opened for him, and then waited till Ministers had passed through. The Lord Chancellor was last, and I had just entered the main room, when a heavy fall was heard and Crewe was seen on the floor. In falling forward on his face he had struck the ground very violently just above the right eye, and was quite insensible. Lord Morley turned with great agitation to Winston, whose experience in the field suggested special knowledge, and asked what he thought. It was some little while before a doctor could be found, during which we did all that was possible. There was just movement enough in the heart and pulse to prove the presence of life, and on the doctor's arrival we were permitted to hope that he would come round. For a minute there was a faint flicker of consciousness, which John Burns, who was indefatigable, utilised to get from him the name of his own doctor, fortunately a resident in the street. Meanwhile, I had sent one of the Privy Council messengers for his servant with what he might want for the night, charging him to keep the matter from Lady Crewe, and Pease went off to communicate with Lord Rosebery. The patient was now put to bed in the room where he fell, and about twelve we all dispersed. Lord Morley was evidently very much

upset, and the Lord Chancellor betrayed painful uneasiness, remaining for the most part outside the room. By the time we left there were symptoms of returning consciousness, and his own doctor and a couple of nurses had arrived.

*March 4th.*—I called at Claridge's the first thing and learnt that, after a somewhat broken night, Lord Crewe had been removed to 38 Berkeley Square, at nine o'clock.

When I met Lord Morley at the Office I asked him to note the striking confirmation the incident had given to the popular prejudice against thirteen at dinner, McKenna having sent an excuse at the last moment. "Ah!" Lord Morley said, "Friday in Lent, feasting thirteen in number, what could you expect?" and he told me on the way to Buckingham Palace that he had written to the Prime Minister to impress the fact upon his imagination.

There was great concern at the Palace, and the details of the catastrophe were eagerly sought, the King showing much feeling. He pricked the list of Sheriffs with great rapidity, and took the same interest as his father in the implement used. The Master of Elibank was sworn, the whole programme occupying little short of half an hour.

It has been arranged that Lord Morley should go back to the India Office during Crewe's absence, and should also assume the leadership of the Lords: obligations which he plaintively averred were exceedingly grievous and fatally destructive to his desire for repose. "I suppose," he said, "I shall live through it," with a dubious air.

*Tuesday, March 7th.*—Last night dined with the Beauchamps, the Italian Ambassador and his wife, the Prime Minister and Mrs. Asquith, R. Cavendish and Lady Moyra, the Dowager Lady Granville, the Northcotes, Nicolsons, and Jack Leslies. Before we left the dinner-table I heard from Lord Knollys that the King would hold a Council to-day at noon for the delivery of the seals of the India Office to Lord Morley, who had declined to discharge the duties of the office unless he were armed with the full power of the Secretary of State in Council.

From his conversation this morning I gathered he returned to the India Office with great reluctance. It appears that since he left there has been a lapse to the old state of things, and wings that he clipped have grown again and spread themselves. Indeed, there was something like consternation at the prospect of his return, as members of Council have in the meantime put on record compromising minutes in direct conflict with the principles upon which he acted. He told me he had been very much pleased by his interview with Desart, and was satisfied the debate on the Declaration of London would be left in first-class hands with him and the Lord Chancellor. His brush with Ampthill last night, of

whom he summarily disposed, does not seem to have whetted his taste for any further encounter of the same kind. Dangerous as he is when provoked, it is true that he remains a man of peace, whose favourite emblem is the shepherd's crook.

The King detained me after the Council, as he was curious of the reasons which led Lord Morley to make affirmation instead of taking the usual oath as Secretary of State. "I suppose," he said, "he is a free-thinker"; to which I replied, "I don't think he is quite sure of his position, Your Majesty," which caused him some amusement. He also spoke to me of the Archbishop's wish to have a Council next week for the approval of the Order of Divine Service for the Coronation. I strongly urged that the Council should be postponed till the following week, when the form of ceremonial, an integral part of the same great solemnity, would, I understood, be ready. I further sought to convince His Majesty that the Archbishop's reason for so early a publication of the Order of Service did not rest on any sufficient basis of public convenience; and in the end he authorised me to tell Bigge to write to the Archbishop to that effect. I subsequently, at Bigge's request, undertook to do this myself.

*March 8th.*—With the disappearance of Assheton Curzon-Howe, one of the highest and best types of naval officer is gone. No more generous and upright spirit ever gave true values to human life; with him scruple was a passion and courtesy an ideal, and these qualities were set in a temperament of rare gentleness and simplicity. Extraordinary expressions of regret have been elicited from French naval officers, who had special opportunities of testing his almost unique characteristics as a fine officer and perfect gentleman.

The debate on the Declaration of London in the House of Lords gave Desart a chance of explaining its provisions in a speech of uncommon lucidity and persuasiveness. With no great vocal resources, he maintained the interest of his audience through an hour and twenty-five minutes; his mass of material was well marshalled, his phrasing good, and the speech as a whole a close-reasoned and convincing effort.

*March 11th.*—Dined last night at Buckingham Palace; forty-two at dinner. I sat between Sir Charles Ottley, the Secretary of the Imperial Defence Committee, and Leonard Darwin, who was interested in my name from the association of his illustrious father with Robert FitzRoy in the "Beagle." He told me that Charles Darwin always spoke of my cousin with the greatest respect, admiration, and gratitude, and there is no doubt that much of the success of the five years' survey was due to the firm, resolute, and persistent qualities of the Officer in Command.

*March 13th.*—Dined with the Ampthills. Count von Wrangel, Hugh and Lady M. Morrison, Nicolsons, Mrs. Ian Malcolm,

George and Lady Agnes Peel. Mrs. Malcolm was looking extremely well, and I found her very agreeable to talk to, full of feeling and knowledge, and singularly free from prejudice. Lady Ampthill has the supreme equipment of a perfectly natural grace which time only emphasises.

*March* 17*th.*—After three days' confinement to the house, two of which were spent in bed, I was able to get to the Office. When Lord Morley heard it, he said: "Please tell FitzRoy I wished I had done the same." However, I hear he greatly enjoyed presiding at Wednesday's Cabinet, which, in the absence of the Prime Minister, it fell to him to do.

*March* 18*th.*—I received from the Archbishop the draft of the Order of Service for the Coronation. Most of the changes are improvements, but the net result will not shorten the Office. The Archbishop found it comic that the instruction to abridge the service was reiterated time after time, a procedure which, if followed, would by this time have whittled the service away. I told him, in reply, that the injunction was intended as a warning against prolixity. I sent a copy to Beauchamp, who is the only member of the Committee qualified to express an opinion upon such matters, and had from him some interesting and erudite comments, on the whole favourable to the alterations.

*March* 20*th.*—McDonnell told me the proposal to extend the Abbey from the west door was being opposed by the residents (principally lawyers) in the houses of the Close overlooking that entrance, who had even gone so far as to threaten legal proceedings unless they received compensation on preposterous terms. I suggested that an Order of Council empowering the First Commissioner to make the annexe would probably be deemed sufficient authority, and felt sure that precedents justifying such a step could be found in our Registers. As the alternative had been to proceed to legislation, which presented many difficulties, he eagerly accepted the suggestion.

In the course of the morning I found two or three precedents which at least established the practice of the Privy Council to override private interests in connection with great public ceremonials, and I sent them over to him with a draft Order, which might well be submitted at once to the Law Officers of the Crown.

We dined with the Ardilauns; Walter Long and Lady Doreen; Reays, R. Strutt and Lady Hilda, and others. R. Strutt was caustic on the vagaries of "suffragist" opinion, not excluding certain of his own kinsfolk from the purview of his criticism.

*March* 21*st.*—Cunningham, who had been present at the conference which Beauchamp and McDonnell had with the Law Officers last night, told me that the Attorney-General had been very much struck with my precedents, and was strongly in favour of our proceeding with the Order of Council, which I accordingly

put down for the consideration of the Coronation Committee of the Privy Council held this afternoon. The Archbishop was late, and thereby missed much of the criticism that the arrangements for the musical part of the service excited. The whole pack of British composers, headed by Bridge, had been allowed to run riot over the musical opportunities offered, with no guarantee, other than what was obtainable from their modesty, that their opportunities would not be grossly abused. The patent prolixity of Bridge's anthem for the Homage led the Committee to instruct me to see the composer and obtain from him such security as I could. The Archbishop gave the whole case away by calling my attention to the muster-roll of great (?) English names that were to contribute, adding, "You know the British public will like to see all this." Could an advertising agent have done better?

*March 22nd.*—The King held a Council to give formal sanction to the Order of Service and Form of Ceremonial. The arrangements for public holidays on June 22nd and 23rd and the Indian Durbar were also approved, and Proclamations signed giving effect to the royal intention. The Lord President, the Archbishop, Duke of Norfolk, and Allendale were present.

*March 28th.*—I took my daughter to Lady Allendale's dance, an entertainment of the old type, stately and self-respecting. The Prime Minister had dined, and at supper-time was called from bridge in order to take Lady Northbrook down. I took Lady Dudley to supper; she is still very beautiful. She made herself most pleasant, though she talked with some asperity of the little interest taken by her daughter-in-law in Australia as a whole.

*April 26th.*—On our return to London after the holidays we had a few people to dinner: the Hyltons, Sir A. and Lady Nicolson, George and Lady Cynthia Colville, Sir W. Garstin and Mrs. Dundas. Lady Cynthia confirmed the report that Lord Crewe had to all appearances recovered his normal health, though she agreed the test of its completeness would come when he resumed work. This he hopes to do by the middle of next month, and, if it was confined to his departmental duties at the India Office, it was believed he would be able to stand the strain. Now that Lord Morley has Haldane's[1] support, I see no difficulty in such a division of function for the remainder of the present Session.

*April 27th.*—This afternoon I saw Haldane, who seemed quite prepared to take any parliamentary work that might be placed in his hands. His return to active connection with the Law by being placed on the Judicial Committee affords him great satisfaction. His ambition is to sit on those appeals from the self-governing Dominions which raise judicial problems of the

[1] Created a Peer March 27th.

highest constitutional import, and so, as I reminded him, take up the great task of Watson, which he has so fittingly commemorated.

*May 3rd.*—The Archbishop has diddled the King's printers. Some time ago he complained of the pretensions of that office to the sole right of printing special forms of service issued under authority. These rights, however, are secured under the terms of Letters Patent, which hitherto it has not been found easy to evade. In accordance with the practice followed in 1902, the Archbishop recently drew up a form of service to be issued to churches throughout the Empire for use upon the Coronation Day, but departed from precedent in getting it printed by the S.P.C.K., which is mainly a commercial undertaking and not a very profitable one.

The King's printer came to me on the subject, and we sent his protest to the Archbishop for his remarks. I noticed that, unlike the form of service issued in 1902, the present one does not claim to be printed by command of the King, and this omission struck me as significant. It now appears that there was, as I supposed, a good deal of craft behind it, for the Solicitor of the Treasury, whose opinion we asked, replied that in the absence of such words the Archbishop's Orders have no authoritative character within the meaning of the Letters Patent, and the King's printer is without a remedy. It would seem that once again the children of light have proved themselves wiser than the children of this world.

*May 4th.*—Council at Buckingham Palace; Lord President, Lord Carrington, Lord Haversham, and Ashby St. Ledgers were present. I had a talk with Lord Morley, who bears the traces of the heavy strain to which he has been subject of late. He told me that he had the curiosity to ascertain his weight, and whereas for years it had been ten stone, he now found himself reduced to 8.13, a very significant fall. He surprised me with the information that he had urged very strongly upon the Prime Minister the propriety of giving me the K.C.B., and followed with a story of what occurred when Mr. Chamberlain asked for the same distinction for Mr. Farrer at the Board of Trade, and was met by Mr. Gladstone with the reply that it was impossible to comply, as Mr. Farrer had never received the C.B. Mr. Chamberlain promptly tendered his resignation. I made the most grateful acknowledgment of his kindness, and I was able too to add with sincerity that no honour could please me so much as the fact that he had been good enough to recommend me for it.

*May 5th.*—We had luncheon at the Crystal Palace in connection with the Hospitality Committee, which is organising the reception of colonial visitors as a part of the Festival of Empire taking place at the Palace. Sir G. Lagden and Lady Howick.

who impressed me very favourably, were the official representatives of the Committee.

We had a dinner for Lady Maria Welby and Lady Katharine Drummond's dance: the Penrhyns and daughter, Mrs. Forster and daughter, Miss Mulholland, Baron Biedersal, Hugh Godley, and one or two others. The ball in the Ancasters' old house was crowded. At 12.30 I took my daughter on to the Speaker's house, where there was plenty of space.

*May 8th.*—A sombre significance seemed to weigh upon the House of Lords as Lord Lansdowne rose to introduce his proposals of reform. The atmosphere had been raised by expectation to a state of tense feeling seldom observable, and a solemnity that was almost ominous spread itself along the crowded benches as the pale and attenuated figure of the Opposition leader, with balanced phrase, graceful diction, and judicial restraint, pronounced what was in effect a sentence of death upon the oldest legislative Chamber of the world.

Its dim origins stretch back to the Conquest, the *Curia* of the first Norman Kings, with its feudal tradition as a Court of Vassals slowly expanding into the *Magnum Concilium* of the Plantagenets, with the idea of counsel assuming prominence and the germ of law-giving taking shape and consistency, till, with the needs of a growing community, the separation of interests between the greater and the lesser tenants of the Crown, and the claims of industrialism, another Chamber came into existence by its side, destined in the course of centuries to assume the direction of all the powers of the State. Through all these years of storied pride the House of Lords—at times slowly and reluctantly, at others freely and generously—has moulded itself to the desire of the nation; but time has dimmed what it could not destroy, and secular prestige withers before the constant censorship of popular opinion.

It is not a little singular—some, indeed, will see in the circumstance the finger of Nemesis—that he who in November 1909 was the mouthpiece of the decision which revived dormant pretensions and precipitated the conflict with the Commons, should now enforce upon the serried ranks behind him, sitting in dejected silence, the consequences of the step then taken, and deprecate their "resentment" at what many might regard as a "betrayal." Truly a memorable scene, when the genius of History takes her place as the assessor of that intangible abstraction which men call the spirit of Justice.

For the rest, in a situation of unusual difficulty Lord Lansdowne made the best case he could. As a parliamentary swordsman distinguished for consummate dexterity, he never acquitted himself better, but to the question, to what profit, no adequate answer is returnable. His scheme from the first could not be

expected to supersede that of the Government, and, if assurance on the point was needed, Lord Morley's declaration made it plain that the provisions of the Parliament Bill were in their opinion equally applicable to a reformed as to an unreformed Second Chamber.

I hear, so great was the exasperation on the Tory benches after Lord Lansdowne's exposition, that, if the negative to the second reading of the Bill had been moved, it might very probably have been carried. The feeling was much fomented by the ostentatious way in which on one or two occasions Curzon prompted his leader: his personality does not command enthusiasm, and he is credited, rightly or wrongly, with having had a large share in shaping Lord Lansdowne's scheme. At any rate, this morning he received a number of Peers at his house and expounded the measure to them.

Lord Rosebery left the House just before the end of Lord Lansdowne's speech, who in an audible aside ejaculated, "Ah! he has bolted."

*May* 10*th*.—When Lord Mersey succeeded Lord Gorell as President of the Probate and Divorce Division, he bought his predecessor's robes for £25, and at his retirement wrote to Lord Gorell to say he had sold them to Sir S. Evans for £40: no extravagant profit for one brought up in the atmosphere of commerce. Lord Gorell wrote back, "I had them from Jeune for nothing!"

*May* 12*th*.—Dined last night with Mrs. Lawson for her ball at the Ritz. A daughter of my old friend, Eustace Balfour, was sitting next me and was very agreeable. She had been transferred with others from Mrs. F. Tennant's dinner, abandoned on account of Lady Ribblesdale's death. The Vivians were there, and some eight girls, with the customary complement of young men. No one looked better than our hostess, or carried herself with greater distinction.

I had a long talk with Charlie Helmsley, who is quite of my opinion that the present position of the Tory Party is very hopeless, and, in language which I might have used myself, attributed it to the ghastly error committed two years ago: the damned consequences, in short, had overtaken its authors.

We had a most pleasant dinner with Haldane and his sister; Count and Countess Gleichen, Sir R. and Lady Ritchie, Major Ostertag, German Military Attaché, and another lady made up the party of ten. The conversation was always good and sometimes brilliant, marked, that is to say, with the glow and the incisiveness of thought. After the ladies went upstairs the changes of military warfare, from Hannibal to Moltke, were the thesis of discussion, and it proved an interesting subject of speculation whether the military genius of ancient times would have shone with undiminished lustre under the conditions of modern tactics.

Ritchie had one or two nice stories of Lord Morley during the period of his work at the India Office and Foreign Office concurrently. When he first entered the Secretary of State's room at the Foreign Office, he said, "Ah! this is the room up and down which Lord Derby used to walk, trying to make up his mind." The Opium Question, which also touches the Foreign Office, having been under discussion at the India Council, Lord Morley remarked, "This is the considered judgment of the Secretary of State in Council, and now we will go to the Foreign Office and see Nicolson, and, if the Secretary of State does not agree with us, we will then repair to the Privy Council Office, and the Lord President shall settle the issue between the two."

*May 17th.*—Lady Bathurst had a party last night in Belgrave Square for the colonial visitors, but, in the absence of any guide as to who they were, there was not much interchange of courtesies.

There is some talk of Tory dissent from Lord Lansdowne's Bill, but I do not think more than a handful of the malcontents will be found in the lobby if a division is taken. However, Raglan and one or two others are trying to work up the feelings of the "Backwoodsmen." Lord Morley was approached by one of them with a view to arranging some sort of co-operation. Lord Morley repudiated at once any wish to embarrass the reforming section of the House of Lords in putting their scheme before the country, and made it known that the Government would keep itself absolutely free from any hampering engagement: they will, in fact, walk out of the House if a division is called.

*May 20th.*—The State Ball in honour of the German Emperor's visit was very crowded: indeed, the length of the favoured list has given rise to the impression that it will be the only function of the kind this summer. The congestion at certain points was almost dangerous, and in the effort to see the procession into the supper-room some ugly risks were run. Those who saw the German Princess in the ballroom were very pleased: she appeared quite simple and unaffected, and her enjoyment of herself and her surroundings was entirely *sans gêne.* A member of the German Embassy assured me that the Emperor's disposition was one of marked gratification with every feature of his reception, both personal and public.

*May 23rd.*—There was a large party at the Foreign Office last night to meet the Colonial Premiers. Laurier was the only one I saw; he looked aged, and his manner has lost some of its alertness. The crowd was immense, and the string of guests entering by the ordinary door was not exhausted till 11.45. Mrs. Harcourt very courteously received us, supported by the Prime Minister in his most cheerful mood. There were many curious types, particularly of women, in the company; but whether they were transmarine or indigenous, I could not say. Mrs. Fitz-

william took us in a royal carriage, so our ingress and egress were not hampered.

In drafting a Proclamation for the public holiday in Wales on the occasion of the investiture, I was particular in phrasing the instrument so as to flatter Welsh susceptibilities as much as possible. Not content with these marks of consideration, Lloyd George asked me this morning to describe the Principality of Wales "including Monmouthshire," which was in fact a demand to dismember England by Royal Proclamation. I declined to comply, and the form accordingly ran, "the Principality of Wales and the County of Monmouth."

*May 25th.*—Council to-day, mainly for the purpose of Lord Crewe's resumption of the Secretary of State's seals.

On the way back Lord Morley gave me an interesting account of his conversation with the German Emperor, who at Haldane's luncheon sat between him and Lord Kitchener. After he had finished with the latter on military subjects, he took up Lord Morley, first upon India, where his son's reception appeared to have gratified him extremely; he then passed to literature and theology, giving high praise to the writings of the Bishop of Ripon, many of which he had caused to be translated and put in circulation in the universities and other places of learning. He was in the habit, he added, when spending an evening at home, of reading these translations to his wife and daughter while they were plying their needles or crochet-pins. Lord Morley proceeded to mention Harnack, whom he held to be the greatest critical intellect in the field of theology to be found in Europe, and asked the Emperor what *he* thought of Boyd Carpenter. The Emperor replied he had now got Harnack at Berlin and had often obtained from him a favourable opinion of the Bishop's books; indeed, he had only the day before received a letter confirming that opinion, which he had shown to the Bishop, who craved permission to copy the passage. The Emperor went on to enlarge upon his own attitude towards dogmatic theology: although there was a residuum of dogma to which one must cling, he himself was very liberal in his views and constant in his encouragement of the greatest possible freedom of exegesis, from which in his opinion no danger to truth was to be feared. Lord Morley was immensely struck by his boldness and decision in handling thorny matters, and, though no doubt the rhetorician in the Bishop of Ripon counted more to him than the theologian, the judgment of the Emperor was not to be dismissed as a merely superficial contribution to the debate: there was no doubt of the vivid interest he took in it, and that his mental calibre was as marked in discussing such a subject as in any other. Lord Morley returned to the Privy Council Office with a great sense of relief. Never would he go back to the India Office in any circumstances. On parting

with his Private Secretary he exclaimed: "Down the long vista of years, as you come here day by day, try and think benevolently of me."

*May 26th.*—Dinner at the Wythes' very pleasant, and assembly at Devonshire House afterwards. My first visit there under the new *régime.* Many of the rooms had been done up, and the pictures rehung with regard to proper principles of arrangement. There was no congestion, and a brilliant company, spread through suites of magnificent rooms, gave the impression of a great house *en fête,* which is so often lacking in similar entertainments. An easily accessible supper-room was built out with an entrance on to the garden, lit with hundreds of coloured lamps, an embellishment which gave a *féerique* aspect to the whole.

*May 27th.*—The day for the celebration of the King's birthday began with heavy clouds and some rain, but by nine o'clock there was every prospect of improvement, and in effect it became one of the most cloudless lustre. I had a large party at my stand at the Privy Council Office, including Lady Derby, Lady Victoria Stanley, H. Shaw-Stewart, Lady Kathleen Thynne, Miss Shaw-Stewart, Lady Rosemary Leveson-Gower and Lady Rosabelle Erskine, Lady Hylton, Bathurst and Lady Muriel, Countess Wedel, Douglas and Lady Dawson, and Mrs. Lawson. The beauty of Lady Kathleen Thynne was very remarkable—the finely moulded features with no emphasis to mar the harmony of the *ensemble,* lit by a most radiant smile and solemnised by a wonderful depth of expression.

Winston Churchill's dinner was very pleasant, though we were rather crowded at table. The importance and dignity of my office were recognised for the first time by the prominent position assigned me. I sat between Lord Robson and Sir A. Scoble. The former's reminiscences of the 1909 Budget in the House of Commons, when it fell to him to coach Lloyd George's inexperience and cover his ignorance, were of a somewhat pungent character. He had some interesting comments to make upon the reluctance of the House of Lords to employ their best line of defence and take their stand upon the real and permanent value of aristocracy, not in thwarting or controlling the democratic principle, but in leavening, influencing, and guiding it. He thought it a great pity that Lord Lansdowne, whose fine qualities and great services he justly appreciated, should appear to be so much under the influence of men like Curzon and Milner, whose long periods of proconsular activity had separated them from the current of public life at home and the working of popular forces.

*May 31st.*—Dined with Lady Tweeddale. Afterwards I went to the party at Norfolk House for the Colonial Premiers, and then took my daughter to Lady Bute's ball at St. John's Lodge, where

the gardens were brilliantly lit up. Reel dancing was much in vogue, and the air was rent with the cries which accompany this exercise.

*June 3rd.*—I went last night to the ball at Derby House. The King and Queen, who had been dining there, left before dancing commenced out of respect to the memory of the King's great-uncle. The house has undergone a wonderful transformation since I knew it in old days, a magnificent ballroom having been thrown out on the east side, with a new dining-room below, which has had to be sunk some feet beneath the level of the ground-floor.

*June 6th.*—The three days of the Whitsuntide holiday, which I passed at Frogmore, were a veritable transfiguration. Never did the heart of summer throw such an intoxicating spell upon all the senses of the soul. There was a fervour of feeling in the glory of the woods, the pulsing of the air, and the exuberance of blossom which gave to every perspective the emotional values of some great scheme of colour orchestration. It was in very truth, as Pater puts it, the "festival which celebrates the Descent of the Spirit, the tongues, the nameless impulses gone all abroad, to soften slowly, to penetrate all things as with the winning subtlety of nature or of human genius. The gracious Pentecostal fire seemed to be in alliance with the sweet warm relaxing winds of that later securer season, bringing their spicy burden from unseen sources."

*June 10th.*—Dined last night with the Samuelsons. I sat between Lady Constance Milnes Gaskell and Lady Edward Cavendish. To the last-named I talked much of the late Duke of Devonshire, to whose magnanimity and kindness towards her sons she paid the highest tribute. She told me she had only once had luncheon in the house during the heyday of the Duchess's reign, but when the Duke's illness had come upon him the Duchess insensibly turned to her and they were constantly together. She hoped the Duke's "Life" would not be too political, but feared it might be, as there were no extant letters except of a political character. I was able to reassure her on what I knew of Bernard Holland's intentions and his strong feeling that it was the Duke's character and personality, as they emerged from political surroundings, it became his duty to bring into the boldest relief, both as a memorial and an example.

*June 12th.*—I attended the meeting of the Imperial Conference for the discussion of questions relating to the Supreme Court of Appeal. Australia and New Zealand raised the same points as in 1907, but, so far as the first-named was concerned, in a very different spirit. Deakin's academic dogmatism had disappeared, while Fisher and Batchelor, who conducted Australia's case, showed a most accommodating temper. The way, it is true, was made easier for them by the Lord Chancellor's handling of

WILD GARDEN, FROGMORE.

their demand, which had lost the rigidity of his previous attitude. The question is indeed more one of names than things, and, while maintaining every substantial interest, Lord Loreburn agreed, by the introduction of a more flexible system in the distribution of the judicial power available, to create what will be in effect one Supreme Court sitting in two divisions. No doubt his concessions in form had been brought about by the influence of Haldane and Asquith (both being present), who have on different occasions subscribed to the principle. Haldane contributed something to the discussion, and Asquith, who was in the chair, made an effective use of his opportunities of intervention.

In the afternoon I saw Lord Morley and told him what had passed. He was anxious to learn the line his colleagues had taken, and summed up the characteristics of Haldane and Asquith very neatly.

I heard from the Prime Minister that the King has graciously signified his pleasure to confer upon me the Ribbon of the Bath. Lord Morley was extremely cordial in his congratulations, and I am very sensible of his consideration. I am glad to have the honour, which was enjoyed by my grandfather in the military division, and I am still more pleased with the reflection that, unlike so many, I have never given the slightest hint in any quarter of my wish to have this or that, or indeed any decoration at all.

*June 20th.*—Dined last night with the Fosters (he is M.P. for Stratford-on-Avon)—a party of twenty-eight at four tables—and after some good music went to the ball at Stafford House just in time to avoid the crush, which I learnt afterwards kept some people for an hour and a half in the string. The ball was the most brilliant I had ever seen in the house, crowded with members of the Royal Family and representatives of foreign Reigning Houses; indeed, the Coronation Festivities may be said to have begun, and they could hardly have enjoyed a worthier inauguration.

The Coronation Honours List came out this morning, and does not seem to have struck anybody as excessively long. The King's relations, the Dukes of Argyll and Fife, have received the Garters so long expected, and two Tory Whips, Bob Douglas and Alec Hood, owe peerages to a Liberal Ministry.

Lord Morley gives a deplorable account of the muddle which characterised the Coronation rehearsal both yesterday and today: partly owing to the incompetence of the directing agency, and also in no small degree to the nonchalance of the performers. He was also struck by the lack of reverence shown in the performance of some of the most solemn and significant episodes: a criticism hardly perhaps to be looked for in one who is not credited with any profound interest in ecclesiastical ceremonies. I ac-

cepted his observations as a proof of the deep feeling he has for all that touches the spiritual side of man.

*June 22nd.*—I have seen a second Coronation almost from the same spot in the gallery within the first arch on the west side of the south transept: we thus directly overlooked the theatre, and could see well into the north side of the chancel. The beauty of the spectacle from this spot was enhanced by the commanding view we had over the front seats occupied by the Peeresses, the four Duchesses who were to carry the canopy, Portland, Sutherland, Montrose, and Hamilton, being conspicuously to the fore. My general impression was that in the splendour of pageantry and the well-ordered movement of a great ceremonial charged with the burden of history, it was superior to the last. There were, of course, many material causes to account for the change: the presence of a more representative body of foreign notabilities was one; the occurrence of the event at a moment when the long process of preparation has raised expectation to its highest pitch was another. Then, moreover, in 1902 the state of the King's health and the decrepitude of the two principal officials contributed not a little to mar the effectiveness of the drama, introducing uncertainty in lieu of precision, and rendering the sequence of episode halting, with an inevitable loss of dignity and significance. But, apart from these external elements, there were, or there seemed to be, deeper factors at work which gave a new spirit and a more vibrant meaning to time-worn ceremonies. On the last occasion the recent death of Queen Victoria had brought an epoch in the history of the monarchy and of the nation to a close: both the one and the other were facing the problems of another century, but with minds still largely preoccupied with the past. Now nine eventful years have gone, during which the influence of King Edward and his Ministers have consolidated our relations with Foreign Powers, and the labours of statesmen, both at home and in the Dominions beyond the seas, have brought nearer to accomplishment the idea of a united whole bound together by an intangible but no less sovereign tie. A new consciousness of itself has penetrated the Empire with a wider survey of the forces which control the future and a deeper insight into the more recondite aspects under which they manifest themselves. For the first time since the days when the Plantagenets dreamed of a Western Empire, we have upon the throne a King who has visited the uttermost parts of his Dominions and been nurtured in the idea of the great destiny awaiting Imperial Britain: the very fact that he and his wife are not so well known to the people as his parents were at their accession enhanced the feeling of expectancy which was present beneath the surface of to-day's ceremony; their comparative youth, and the hope that for another generation at least they may be identified with the strengthening

*Photo by Grove, Son and Boulton, 174 Brompton Road, S.W.3.*

THE DUKE OF NORFOLK, K.G., IN CORONATION ROBES.

of the bonds of brotherhood among the peoples beneath their sway, and with the amelioration of the conditions under which the least happy of them now suffer and wait, were accountable for the conviction possessing the minds of many that in the elaborate ritual, with its reminiscences of mediæval consecration and knightly investiture, there was both in form and substance a sealing of the Sovereign with the "Spirit of Promise."

Before this reign comes to an end time may have touched the middle of the century; upon the youngest of those gathered within the walls of Westminster Abbey, including the heir to the monarchy, the duties and the burdens of the day will have fallen. Is it too much to expect that the memories of June 22nd, 1911, may inspire them with a sense of deeper obligation and more strenuous achievement, and that from their efforts and example there may spring an ideal of truer progress, of closer sympathy, of riper and more resolute faith?

The Abbey was reached by Dean's Yard about 7.20: ingress and egress were very easy, and we were out by 2.20, less than a quarter of an hour after the procession left the theatre. An excellent luncheon followed at the Church House, to which we were bidden by the kindness of John Thynne and his wife.

Among the congratulations I have received on my admission to the Order of the Bath there were two whieh I did not expect. The Lord Mayor sent his in very courteous form, and Lord and Lady Aberdeen conveyed theirs in a telegram of great cordiality.

*June 27th.*—Lord Morley seems to have found the Coronation very trying to his strength. Describing his sensation at a comparatively early part of the ceremony, he felt he had reached the extreme point of exhaustion, and then he reflected, "What a glorious moment to die!"

The weather cleared up beautifully for the Garden Party at Buekingham Palace. The changes in the gardens due to Redesdale's taste have had time to take on the halo of age, and the borders of the water were rich with aquatic plants. The great eoncourse of people, more than 4,000 in all, was never concentrated enough to be inconvenient, and the King and his royal guests were able to move about at their unfettered choice.

*June 29th.*—The debate in the House of Lords upon the Parliament Bill has not, so far, been very illuminating: indeed, both parties seem to be playing different parts in a carefully arranged masquerade. According to my impression, the present attitude of the Government is dictated by consideration for the feelings of their most ardent followers, who would not brook any concession at the first eneounter. When the Bill returns to the Lords restored to its original shape, the moment will have come for some effort to meet critieism the force of which is recognised. The Archbishop of Canterbury distinguished himself in the rôle

of moderator; having declared that he did not like the Opposition proposals one whit more than those of the Government, he proceeded to blame the Ministry for their unaccommodating temper, and wound up by voting with the Opposition.

The Service of Thanksgiving at St. Paul's was impressive in its simplicity and directness. Their Majesties bore themselves with an air of dignity and concern which appealed to the sympathies of a great congregation.

*July 3rd.*—One or two incidents connected with the Coronation have come to my knowledge. No small stir was created among a section of the Countesses by the intrusion among their number of a mere Baroness. She had learnt that some one would not occupy her place, and proceeded to thrust herself into it, to the indignation of the ladies in the vicinity. Lady Rosse, whom I met at dinner to-night, was an eye-witness of the transaction, and blamed the Gold Stick officer for his negligence or supineness in allowing an obvious intruder to usurp a place to which she had no claim.

The other story relates to the day of the Royal Progress. Just before the procession emerged from the Arch at the top of Constitution Hill, Lord Frederick Blackwood, who was in command of a body of the 9th Lancers, looked to see that his men were on the alert, and discovered two troopers with young women up *en croupe*.

*July 5th.*—Council this afternoon for swearing in the Privy Councillors announced at the Coronation. In view of Mr. Fisher and Mr. Morris being sworn, I had arranged for Harcourt and Sir J. Ward being present. Fisher, however, on receiving the summons, said he had another engagement. Knowing his peculiarities, I referred the matter to the Colonial Office, when, by Harcourt's direction, Lionel Earle wrote a strong letter, telling him he must set aside other engagements; upon which he merely said that he was to receive the freedom of Kilmarnock, his native place, on the day in question and the arrangements could not be altered. In transmitting his reply, Lionel Earle said they could do no more. Accordingly I forwarded the correspondence to Knollys and asked whether, in the circumstances, it would be conformable to His Majesty's gracious indulgence to permit Mr. Fisher's being appointed by Order in Council, though hitherto that had only been done in the case of persons out of the United Kingdom. This the King agreed to. There were thus eighteen sworn, including one who made affirmation. Lord Morley, Lord Spencer Harcourt, Winston Churchill, George Murray, and Sir J. Ward constituted the Council. I named the new men to the King as they came in, and, in spite of the crowd, the ceremonies were performed with due dignity. As Lord Kinnear, the first among them, has some difficulty in rising from his knees, I ar-

ranged with George Murray to help him up if necessary, which in effect he had to do.

Lord Morley talked to me upon the prospects of a holiday, presuming the House of Lords would adjourn for most of August. He was under the impression that, when the House of Commons had rejected most of the Lords' amendments to the Parliament Bill, or perhaps before, Lord Lansdowne would ask to confer with the Prime Minister upon the future course of the Bill, though the changes which the Government might consent to introduce were not perhaps of great moment from the Opposition point of view. He spoke with some acerbity of the Morocco incident and the uncertainty the Powers were in about Germany's ultimate aim; but he did not think her recent act connected with any definite or deeply considered policy; rather, in fact, to be deemed a feeler to satisfy herself upon the present grouping of forces, which might be either the prelude or the postponement of more decisive action.

*July 6th.*—Investiture at St. James's Palace in great heat. I was reached in little more than half an hour after the commencement of the proceedings; but the whole ceremony lasted an hour and three-quarters. For the third time I have seen Spencer Ponsonby officiating at these functions: in 1902, 1909, and 1911. In two months' time he will have completed seventy years of public employment, having entered the Foreign Office October 1841; from the beginning of Peel's great Ministry to that of Asquith constitutes an experience of public affairs which it would be difficult to equal in length or importance.

The genesis of Newton's amendment, which it is believed will meet this afternoon with some sympathy from the Government, is not a little curious. It proposes to enact that any further change in the relation of the House of Lords to the Constitution shall not take effect until after the General Election, subsequent to its having been adopted under the provisions of the Parliament Bill. The amendment was drafted by Lord Robson, and it is by the suggestion of the Government that it has been placed in Newton's hands. Of course it is no compromise in the true sense of the word, but it forms a basis of discussion between the two sides of the House, and will only be accepted subject to the elimination of Lord Lansdowne's proposal for a Constitutional Commission of fifteen. Some slight modification of the Speaker's *ipse dixit* in the matter will probably ensue, and Lord Lansdowne's amendment, or the spirit of it, will thus not altogether disappear. The Government have no reason to believe that their position in the constituencies is in the least impaired, and, though the Opposition are looking to the West Ham election with great hopes, I believe that they will be disappointed. The salutary effects of such a disappointment may be considerable.

*July* 11*th.*—The impracticability of Mr. Fisher, to which I have referred, gave Lord Morley an opportunity of administering a polished rebuke not long ago. Mr. Fisher was very reluctant to don court dress for the King's banquet, and for a time it seemed doubtful whether he would not absent himself unless his whim of coming in plain clothes was indulged. Finally he gave way. Lord Morley, on his being presented to him, said, "I am glad to see you, Mr. Fisher, clothed and in your right mind."

Chafing the other day under the difficulty of not being able to keep himself undisturbed by the importunate, Lord Morley wrote to Cunningham: "The regret of my life is that I was not endowed at my birth with an invisible coat, like the Giant-killer."

*July* 20*th.*—At Mrs. Pitt-Rivers's dance last night I had a long talk with Bath about the present political situation. His attitude was, as I expected, governed by studious moderation and a sincere desire to repair the errors of the past. He gave me to understand that a large body of influential Peers, some sixty to seventy in number, were strongly in favour of allowing the Veto Bill to pass, with such minor concessions as the Government would make in the last resort to obviate recourse being had to any large creation of Peers. For himself, he thought the wiser course from the first would have been for Lord Lansdowne to wash his hands of all responsibility, and, by declining to move amendments, to reserve his freedom of action against the time when his party should again be in power; but, though no one had a keener eye to the essential features of the situation, Lord Lansdowne had, he regretted to say, yielded to pressure from the advocates of more violent courses. Selborne, as I was prepared to hear, he described as the man who, in season and out of season, was urging resistance: with ability of a certain order, but obstinate in his adherence to a limited point of view, Bath thought him blind in the handling of the present difficulty; but his persistence made him formidable. Arthur Balfour, he said, was in favour of prudence; Curzon and St. John Brodrick took the same line, and Salisbury was as yet undecided. Some unbending of the rigour hitherto maintained by the Government would, he felt, materially assist the prevalence of reasonable counsels. He and those who thought with him realised that no substantial advantage was to be gained by prolonging the struggle; no means existed for obtaining from the country a revision of the judgment passed at the General Election; while to force the Government to play their last card, however it might in time react disastrously to the party who had employed it, would be to make themselves accomplices in a step which would destroy the historic Peerage of the United Kingdom and substitute for its prescriptive splendour a titled mob without faith, distinction, or responsibility. Bath had the illumination to see that the Peers were now paying the

penalty for allowing themselves to be the agents of a purely party move in 1909, and agreed that, even with the defeat of the Budget, the presence of some seventy Tory Peers in the lobby in favour of letting it pass, would have been an asset to the Peers' advantage of incalculable value.

*July* 21*st.*—At dinner last night I sat next Mrs. Lowther, who, with the fullest knowledge, confirmed what Bath had said the night before upon the malefic influence exercised by Selborne on the deliberations of the Unionist leaders. The weight of sheer pertinacity which sees one aspect of a situation with extraordinary clearness and determination, has always to be reckoned with in estimating the probable decision of a number of men at a critical juncture ; and the reputation gained in South Africa enhances the ponderable qualities of Selborne's judgment at a moment when altogether different intellectual attributes should be cast into the scale.

*July* 22*nd.*—Lord Lansdowne's doubt as to how long the Peers might be free agents has been quickly solved, as he was yesterday informed that the King's readiness to act upon the Prime Minister's advice was assured. This information gave point and piquancy to the meeting of Peers at Lansdowne House, an occasion which must have excited sinister recollections of similar gatherings in the past. Differences of opinion were rife, and no resolution, it is said, was reached ; but the problem the Peers have to solve lies in a nutshell. Their plain duty is to ask themselves whether, if the issue was submitted at this moment to the constituencies, there would be any reply at variance with the verdict given in December. If they cannot, as prudent and well-informed men, believe that it would be so, the only conclusion they can draw is that their duty lies in giving effect to the popular voice, however distasteful to themselves.

A scene of most turbulent disorder broke out yesterday afternoon in the Commons, and the Prime Minister was prevented making his promised statement. An eye-witness assures me that the centres of carefully concerted disturbance were not more than two or three, and that only twelve to twenty members were its responsible agents. The display was both humiliating and inopportune, as, however rough the tone of the Prime Minister's letter to Lord Lansdowne, the substance of the intimation has been long looked for and discounted in the estimation of every prudent political thinker. The creation of Peers had become almost a theme for jocular treatment, and to pretend that an authoritative statement of the Government's intention to do that which they had long been expected to do constituted a revolutionary step only to be met by physical violence was an abuse of parliamentary liberty for which no excuse can be found but in the light-headed vainglory of those concerned.

Though it is most unfair to treat the Opposition as responsible for such proceedings, they are bound to reap the discredit of them, and the outbreak cannot fail to be added to the long list of tactical errors for which sections of the Tory Party are accountable.

*July 28th.*—The gravity of the Morocco crisis was reflected at the Privy Council Office yesterday by an enquiry from the War Office whether we had ready for immediate submission the Proclamations necessary for calling out the Reserves. No doubt the occasion for such a step is as yet far from realisation, and in all probability will remain so, but it indicates the disquietude to be read between the lines of the Prime Minister's guarded and impressive statement to the House of Commons. I had some conversation on the subject with Lalaing, who is remaining here till the tension is relaxed. He noted the tremulous anxiety with which each party to the dispute, and others besides, sought to convince the world that in the last resort they were prepared to fight, though possibly such an eventuality was the one thing they were most determined to avoid. Germany has unfortunately some ground for complaint in the occupation of Fez under a private agreement with the discredited Moroccan Government, which it is arguable goes beyond the priority accorded to France under the terms of the Algeciras Convention; but there is no excuse for her self-assertion in sending a ship to Agadir. It was very seriously considered whether the English Government should not do the same, and the step was not taken because it was feared it might aggravate an already critical situation. The attitude of the Foreign Office has been throughout one of patience and firmness. Sir F. Lascelles told me that Herr Kiderlin Waechter was a German of the more ruffianly type, whose methods were not likely to err on the side of courtesy or consideration. The return of the Emperor is, it is believed, likely to inspire diplomacy with both prudence and politeness.

*July 31st.*—I had a conversation with Lord Morley this morning, in which he treated the difficulties of the domestic situation with great frankness. He acknowledged the correctness of Lord Lansdowne's attitude, and recognised that it was no part of his business to assist the Government to any estimate of the number of Peers who were resolved to follow Lord Halsbury, or what support *they* might obtain from Unionist Peers, upon which Lord Morley had some idea of asking Curzon, with whom his relations were more or less intimate. We went through the list of Peers, and, making every allowance on either side, reached the conclusion that, to avoid a creation of Peers, at least forty Unionist votes against insisting on the Lords' amendments would be necessary. The creation of Peers at this stage, however limited, might, he feared, modify the action of those who supported Lord Lansdowne

merely to avoid this eventuality, although he agreed that there was a great difference between a creation of Peers that would swamp the House as a whole and a creation designed to outweigh the recalcitrance of a section. Throughout Lord Morley spoke with conspicuous moderation and a singular fairness to the views of the Opposition, going so far in describing their feelings towards the intention of the Government as to use the expression, "*which they may perhaps not without reason regard as an abuse of the prerogative of the Crown.*" Lord Morley thought that the objections to the Insurance Bill were gathering force, and that members of undoubted loyalty to the Government were beginning to be very sceptical about the prudence of proceeding with it. The reluctance to remain in London through this persistent spell of heat must be considered in determining the course which the Government should pursue.

*August 3rd.*—The result of Lord Morley's circular to the Liberal Peers has exceeded expectation, and the total number pledged to support the Government may now be estimated at *eighty*, which it is thought will be sufficient to turn the scale. The resolution to conclude this part of the Session by an adjournment in a fortnight's time is dictated by the necessities of the case. Obvious advantages will attend its resumption in the cooler atmosphere of the autumn, when the resentments connected with the closing passages of the Parliament Bill will to some extent be softened by time.

*August 4th–7th.*—I spent these days at Deal with Julia Lady Tweeddale, under the necessity, alas, of returning to London on the evening of the bank holiday, as the King has fixed Tuesday morning for the Council. On Saturday afternoon I motored over to Sandwich, a town full of interest by virtue of its situation and history.

On Sunday I had luncheon with the George Hamiltons at Deal Castle and inspected Walmer, of the same date, in the afternoon. The Hamiltons have made Deal a most comfortable house, in spite of the singular shape given to many of the rooms. Walmer, with its reminiscences of Pitt and Wellington, has a savour of its own. The chair in which the great Duke died and the camp bedstead have not been moved for sixty years, and there was something very touching in the empty desolation of the room.

*August 8th.*—The Lord President, Spencer, Pentland, and Charles Hobhouse attended the Council, which, though summoned for 11 a.m., did not meet till nearer the half-hour, as it was understood that the King had been much absorbed in reading the Censure Debate in the House of Commons: he had, moreover, a long talk with Lord Morley, who told me afterwards that His Majesty was much exercised in his mind by the criticism which he had incurred by consenting to the creation of Peers. He

shrinks, it appears, from the language probably held in the Carlton Club, but, as Lord Morley told him, it was better to run the risk of that than to be denounced from every platform as the enemy of the people. His natural sensitiveness has been aggravated by the receipt of a large number of anonymous letters which he insists on reading for the "amusement" they afford; but it is an indulgence that rankles. The charge, too, of having betrayed the so-called Irish *loyalists* touches him closely, and this Lord Morley disposed of by telling him that they would soon have cause to thank the Government for embarrassing itself by the introduction of a Home Rule Bill, and their present irritation would be lost in the satisfaction of the struggle which would ensue. The King's extreme conscientiousness was, in Lord Morley's opinion, one source of his susceptibility, and lack of experience reflected itself in some hesitation and self-mistrust; but a strong sense of obligation, coupled with a desire to shape his conduct according to the most correct standard of constitutional propriety, fortified resolution when it had to be translated into action.

In talking of the Peers who had pledged themselves to follow him, I asked Lord Morley whether he had secured the adhesion of Lord Kilbracken (Arthur Godley). "No," he said. "First, he is an Irishman and distrusts Home Rule, and then he was twenty-four years at the India Office, which is long enough to make a Tory of anyone. I was only there," he went on, "five years, but in another five years even my Liberalism would probably have gone." I said, "Was that the cause of your leaving, that you feared to expose yourself to the risk?" "Ah," he replied with a smile, "that is asking too much. Perhaps, when I say good-bye to the Council Office, I will tell you why I left the India Office."

Lord Crewe's participation in the Censure debate [1] was arranged at the last moment between him, Lord Morley, and the Prime Minister, and took the House by surprise. It was perhaps necessary, in order to give effect to the King's wishes, that his attitude in November 1910 should be described with a little more precision, but it subjected the speaker to a very severe ordeal. His delivery, always slow, became painfully deliberate, the extreme pallor of his face was enhanced by dark rings round the eyes, and his voice sounded strange and hollow. As soon as he had concluded he left the House and took no part in the division.

*August 10th.*—I never saw the House of Lords so full as on this, the hottest day in the annals of British meteorology: the thermometer reached 97° in the shade! Lord Lansdowne, who always shines in a position of extreme difficulty, acquitted him-

[1] A motion condemning the Government for the advice tendered to the King in regard to the creation of Peers.

self of the task he had to perform with the greatest tact, polish, dignity and address, and but for the fact that he appealed to a section of the House impenetrable to reason and proof to the dictates of prudence, his allocution could not have failed of success. It was lamentable to see his calm and dispassionate view of a very critical situation succeeded by a blunt appeal to blind passion, couched in terms of turgid rhetoric and senile violence. Lord Halsbury was evidently prepared to meet an accusation of disloyalty, and proceeded to charge Lord Lansdowne with having imputed unworthy motives to his dissentient followers, a charge which only required one chilling sentence of dignified rebuke on the part of Lord Lansdowne to expose and refute. A few judicial remarks from the Archbishop of York restored the issue before the House to its true perspectives.

I saw Hugh Cecil this afternoon, who held that Lord Halsbury's friends would have a small majority; for him to put it no higher does not seem a sign of strength. The uncertain factor is the number of Unionist Peers who may in the last resort be drawn into the Government lobby.

*August 11th.*—The great division is over, and the position saved by a majority of seventeen. The votes recorded exceeded the most sanguine estimate on either side. Some six abstentionists, headed by the Duke of Norfolk, voted at the last moment with the obscurantists, and they had the support of two Bishops. On the other hand, Lord Morley's eighty were reinforced by Lord Rosebery, two Archbishops, eleven Bishops, thirty-seven Unionist Peers, and two or three Liberals who had not been included in the special whip.

The scene was most memorable; the uncertainty of the issue, which depended on the Unionist Peers who had the courage to incur obloquy by a nominal vote for the Government, investing the last moments of the debate with an interest which was almost tragic in the intense feeling evoked. There was eager competition for the last word: Curzon's speech, which was worthy the occasion, summed up Lord Lansdowne's case, and went further in absolving any of his supporters who saw fit to go into the "content" lobby. Lord Morley's impressive announcement that in the event of defeat there would be a "prompt" creation of four hundred Peers confirmed the purpose of waverers and the speeches of "Die Hards" detached others from the policy of abstention. Lord Halsbury tried to stem the current by some violent solemnities; Lord Rosebery then declared his intention to vote with the Government, and the curtain fell on the gesticulations of Selborne, who sought to decry the value of Lord Rosebery's advice.

After the division I had the opportunity of talking to Desart and Fortescue, both of whom had voted in the majority. Desart felt and told Lord Lansdowne, that in the last resort he should

take that step, as otherwise there was no object in his being there. He noted, as the evening wore on, a marked shifting of opinion in this direction among Unionist Peers, which was confirmed by the ill-advised action of the Duke of Norfolk in personally trying to deter them. Desart, and later Fortescue, declared that the speeches of Lord Lansdowne, Lord St. Aldwyn, Midleton, and Curzon left them no alternative, as it was only by so doing they could give logical coherence to the policy of their leaders. Fortescue thought that nearly one-third of his supporters having abandoned him on such an issue rendered Lord Lansdowne's position as leader almost untenable. On my suggestion that at the outset Lord Lansdowne might have made it plain that any serious defection of his followers would bring about that result, Fortescue expressed his conviction that had he done so at Lansdowne House and supported it with a most emphatic warning of what would follow, the conspiracy would have been nipped in the bud.

In congratulating Lord Morley on the result, I drew from him a very interesting review of what had passed, including some vivid judgments on the principal actors in the final transaction. He held that the King's desire to make plain the intention as to the creation of Peers had a decisive effect. His Majesty had been much disturbed by the vapourings in Tory circles that the whole thing was a *brutum fulmen*, meant not for use but to terrify, and had expressly desired that the announcement should be made in the most explicit and authentic terms. The criticism that he (Lord Morley) had been reluctant to make the announcement was, he declared, wholly unfounded: his hesitation was merely due to the fact that it had been arranged for him to speak at a certain moment in the debate, and he had no wish to disturb the order. He gave high praise to Curzon's speech, though, as was often the case with him, the effect was somewhat spoilt by his going on too long. In mentioning Lord Lansdowne's attitude, I referred to his advantage in enjoying "that inestimable Whig tradition." "It is inestimable," he broke in, and then proceeded, in further illustration of it, to extol Devonshire's contribution to the debate, which he said was quite worthy of his uncle in its simple, direct, weighty, and balanced appeal to moderate judgments. Selborne, on the other hand, he dismissed without ceremony. His (Lord Morley's) gratification and relief were as great as Lord Crewe's, upon whom the prospect had been weighing like lead. The drama played in the House was not without its comic features, as two noble lords, one on either side, were very drunk and voted in that state. One was so bad that for a long time he was kept under supervision in a committee-room, and Lord Ilkeston, who graduated in medicine, was summoned to see him. On his appearance, however, the patient shouted,

"Take the —— away; he wants to get two guineas out of me!" He was allowed to go into the division lobby.

*August 15th.*—I had heard from the War Office last week that they were uneasy about the delay in mobilisation which the King's absence in Scotland might cause in the event of sudden complications, and to-day I saw Haldane on the subject. The question turned upon the rapidity with which a Council could be held for the issue of the necessary proclamations, upon which I was able to give him satisfactory assurance that the arrangements could be accelerated to meet any emergency.

I was surprised to find Haldane so apprehensive upon the turn the present negotiations between France and Germany might take; though he declined to anticipate the worst, the delay in coming to an agreement and the lack of information on what was behind the present course of German diplomacy rendered every possible precaution necessary. A very large proportion of the German Reserves were now mobilised for the annual manœuvres, and would remain with the Colours till the first of October. Till then the Intelligence Department (and, it seemed, the Foreign Office shared their disquiet) could not ignore the possibility that it might be the design a week or two before they returned to their homes to cut the knot of negotiation and present a pistol at the head of France. That being so, a Committee of the Cabinet, which had met the preceding evening, the Prime Minister, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and the Foreign Secretary being present, had decided that anything practicable to accelerate a counter-stroke must be done. Lord Morley having gone to Scotland, it was considered unnecessary to trouble him, and I agreed that, if the course proposed had the sanction of the Prime Minister, nothing further was required. It was therefore with great surprise, on seeing Nash a second time, I learnt that the Prime Minister was not at all prepared for the communication, and that his recollection of what passed the evening before was entirely different: at any rate, he begged that nothing more should be done before the Cabinet met to-morrow.

The curiosity, not unmixed with misgiving, inspired by the mutual relations of members of the Cabinet, was emphasised on learning from Cunningham that when Lord Morley heard last week what was brewing, he said with decision, "The issue of any such Proclamations will be the signal of my leaving the Government." The position is further complicated by the question having been raised at this late period, when Ministers are dispersing. The Prime Minister goes to-morrow, and in a few days everyone will have disappeared. Meanwhile, I must pick up instructions as I can, trusting largely to my own judgment of what it is expedient to do and leave undone.

*August 18th.*—The Railway Strike has intervened to keep

Ministers in London. Fortunately the S.W.R. is not in the least affected, and I got up from Farnborough before the scheduled time. I saw a Minister at luncheon, who told me the breakdown of the negotiations was directly due to the Prime Minister's roughness in dealing with the men's representatives as he flung his Commission at their heads in the form of an ultimatum, without taking the trouble to explain its constitution and the arrangements for its immediate sitting and report at the earliest possible moment. His *brusquerie* at such a juncture may not be irretrievable, but it has undoubtedly aggravated discontent and made the chances of an accommodation more remote. Winston Churchill is said to be convinced that the whole trouble is fomented by German gold, and claims to have proof of it, which others regard as midsummer madness. At any rate, in the result of the Cabinet Council this morning, the adjournment of Parliament has been postponed and both Houses will sit again on Tuesday.

Although Winston Churchill's alleged belief does seem in a remarkable way to cohere with the substance of Haldane's apprehensions, it is easy to apply arbitrary ingenuity to the process of putting two and two together; but the fact that England has identified herself with France in the present negotiations offers an enormous temptation to those with the disposal of the German Secret Service fund so to paralyse the forces of the country that no effective assistance of a military character could be given.

*August 22nd.*—The end of the Railway Strike is another triumph of Lloyd George's genius for conciliation. According to Nash, he plays upon men round a table like the chords of a musical instrument; now pleading, now persuasive, stern, playful and minatory in quick succession, he never permits one impression to tire, still less to provoke, and succeeds in carrying with him men's feelings and understandings in a way which, while keeping the common aim in high relief, makes allowance for the objects, antecedents, qualities, wishes, even prejudices of those who are working with him, until out of the clash and conflict a real harmony is struck.

*October 1st.*—This, the last Sunday of my holiday, we spent with Hubert Jerningham at Longridge Towers in the heart of the Border Country, within sight of Halidon Hill, and within easy distance of the Field of Flodden. Lady Baring and Lady Muriel Gore-Browne, both very pleasant, were there. The afternoon was given to Norham, whose grey walls are still touched with the romance of eight hundred years.

Jerningham spoke to me of the circumstances connected with the close of his career in the Colonial Service. The climate of Trinidad determined his retirement, but he was no longer in good odour with the Colonial Office, owing to the freedom of his criticism upon the Crown Agents, whose practice it was, as honest

brokers, to provide for the material wants of the Crown Colonies in a manner he deemed corrupt. The Secretary of State, it appears, took umbrage at the tone of the despatch, and the easiest way out was to resign his position.

*October 2nd.*—On reaching York, as I returned to London, I learnt that a Council was to be held at Balmoral the following morning for the issue of a Proclamation of Neutrality on the outbreak of war between Italy and Turkey. I had not anticipated that this would be required for a few days, when the King could have held a Council in London. My cold had produced an acute bronchial affection which confined me to bed, and I had to telephone to London to instruct my deputy to take my place. I was not sorry to avoid two night journeys on successive days in such an inclement season, but I regretted the first breach in the regularity with which I had attended Council since my first in October 1898.

*October 5th.*—I received to-day a very kind acknowledgment of the excuses I tendered the King for my absence. The Council seems to have been got through with very little ceremony. Ledlie, my deputy, was dragged out of the motor immediately he arrived, and was not even given time to don a frock-coat before being hailed into the Presence : not that such a garment was necessary, as His Majesty was in shooting-clothes and " the Prime Minister in an old flannel suit."

*October 11th.*—Lord Morley, writing to his Private Secretary, mentioned he was going to Brighton to the Hotel Metropole. " Keep it as secret," he added, as if it were deeply discreditable. There is a good story of his last visit to Skibo, where Mr. Carnegie has erected a huge swimming-bath. Lord Morley, by way of some acknowledgment of his detective's attention, took him to see the bath and asked his opinion of it. " Well, sir," he said, " it seems to me to savour of the *parvenoo*." " Impudent fellow ! " was Lord Morley's comment, while tacitly agreeing with him.

*October 14th.*—Vaughan Nash came to see me to-day respecting the arrangements to be made during the King's absenee. I had commented on the very wide form of the first draft of the Letters Patent to be approved by Order in Council, whereby all the powers of the Sovereign in Council and otherwise were to be entrusted to a Commission consisting only of three Ministers : the Prime Minister, the Lord Chaneellor, and the Lord President. This has now been revised ; the Prime Minister has been dropped out, and with thc two others are associated Prince Arthur of Connaught and the Archbishop of Canterbury, in form at least a much wiser selection.

Nash also told me some shuffling of the pack was imminent which would entail an addition to the Cabinet, Charles Hobhouse being brought in as Chancellor of the Duchy, while Pease goes

to the Board of Education, Runciman being transferred to the Board of Agriculture, replacing Carrington, who takes the Privy Seal from Crewe : changes of no great significance either personal or political. I am glad of Hobhouse's promotion : he has considerable acumen, bears an honoured name, and is a thorough gentleman ; his wife, too, has conspicuous capacity for affairs.

*October* 16*th*.—Nash told me this morning that a further change was in contemplation, or rather exchange, between McKenna and Winston Churchill, although it was not certain it would be made at once, the ostensible reason being that McKenna's liabilities to insurance interfered with Admiralty business ; but everyone who is conversant with the Home Office knows that the work of that Department yields to none in its demands on the Secretary of State.

*October* 17*th*.—I had conferences with Nash and Thring on the form to be given the Order and Commission for the transaction of the King's business during his absence in India. We agreed it would be necessary to convene meetings at least once a week, and from the information collected it seemed there would be weekly some fifty documents, including Commissions, Patents, and Ordinary Submissions, which would have to be handled in the manner prescribed. It was further held that it should be suggested to His Majesty that the officers so appointed should be termed Councillors of State. While I was in Nash's room the Master of Elibank came in and revealed to us his plans for securing the early passage of the Insurance Bill. He disclosed his strength as a Whip by his absorption in the calculations attaching to that office and their application without compunction or remorse. It emerged that from his point of view the removal of Winston Churchill to the Admiralty would afford good grounds for dropping the Mines Bill and the Shops Bill, and I also gathered that, among the minor changes imminent, Emmott was to leave the House of Commons with a Peerage and later an Under-Secretaryship, and that Strachey, having then a chief in the House of Commons, would be gratified with the Peerage he missed in the summer.

I saw Lord Morley in the afternoon, to whom the proposed exchange between Winston and McKenna came as a surprise. I laid before him all the information I had gathered, which led to the observation that Murray was a Machiavelli on a very small stage—the expression of a statesman's contempt for the functions of the wirepuller.

We had a small dinner to celebrate my daughter's birthday : Mrs. and Miss Lawson, Desmond Fitzgerald, and Sir J. Dunlop Smith. Dunlop Smith was Minto's political secretary during his Viceroyalty, and is now political A.D.C. to the Secretary of State, in which capacity he is going to India with the King. He spoke with much warmth of Minto's ability ; he was not slow,

however, to praise Lord Morley, though admitting they had been often in collision.

*October* 18*th*.—I heard this morning that the Council which was to have taken place on Monday, in order to give formal effect to the ministerial changes, has been postponed to Tuesday, the difficulty between McKenna and Winston not yet being adjusted. Bernard Holland's book on the Duke of Devonshire has been the literary event of the week: no work of the kind could perhaps come up to the highest critical standard, but the reception it has met with is on the whole very favourable. In reply to my letter thanking him for the prominent place he has given to my contribution, I had from the author the accompanying explanation of the last two pages in the book, which have come under the lash of "The Times" Reviewer. In his judgment such speculations should not have been obtruded unless it was done "supremely well"; whereas, he thinks Holland has come perilously near nonsense. The reasons B. H. gives for them have some weight, and certainly much pathos.

"I am very glad that you feel satisfied with the Life. I had much pleasure in placing the latter part of your contribution in the place of honour, because it was written in a noble manner and with true feeling. I hope that you did not think my own two final paragraphs too *risqué*. They are unusual in this kind of book, though one might plead Tacitus at the end of his 'Agricola'; but I was under the singular feeling which one has when one has followed long and closely a life from the beginning and sees it come to a full stop, and I had just been watching the face in death of another man—great, I think, in his own way—my uncle Sir Alfred Lyall, who died last April. Certainly my own admiration for your (and my) old Chief was even increased by all that I came across in this long study, and I trust that the effect on all readers will be the same. Naturally one sees, too late, things one might have added with advantage or said better. I was a little too much pressed in point of time."

*October* 20*th*.—I saw Arthur Nicolson at Brooks's, who threw some light on Winston's transfer to the Admiralty. It appears he was with Haldane the other day and commented upon the slackness of the Admiralty during the recent crisis, giving it as his opinion that the place wanted thoroughly routing out. This Haldane told him was likely to be done in the near future, and Winston, whom he saw constantly, had also used language which pointed to his going to one of the two Departments concerned with National Defence. He told Arthur Nicolson that he was thoroughly repentant of the part he had played in opposing naval expenditure three years ago, and recognised the change of circumstances. So much did he impress his hearer with the soundness and force of his conclusions in the sphere of foreign policy

that Nicolson assured me, in the event of Edward Grey leaving the Foreign Office, there was no one he would rather see there than Winston Churchill. He confirmed what I already knew from another source, that in the recent menacing state of European politics there had been a distinct rift in the Cabinet on the amount of support to be given to France, Lord Morley, the Lord Chancellor, Harcourt, and John Burns having not seen eye to eye with their colleagues.

*October 23rd.*—Carrington called and explained his reasons for leaving the Board of Agriculture. He spoke very highly of the permanent staff. Incidental to some speculation upon how Pease would manage Morant, Carrington said *he* had been asked to take that gentleman as a transfer from the Board of Education. I remarked, "I suppose you told them you would see them damned first?" "Yes," he replied, "that is precisely the language I did use." He deplored feelingly and I believe genuinely the state into which the Tory party had fallen, "by schisms rent asunder and heresies distrest," and condemned Lord Halsbury most severely for allowing his name to be used in connection with a political club, designed to perpetuate the memory of a flagrant revolt against party discipline.

*October 24th.*—At the Council this morning the impending Cabinet changes were effected: Lord Morley, Crewe, Carrington, McKenna, W. Churchill, and Hobhouse were present. Pease did not turn up, but I had obtained his seal from the Duchy Office, and it was bestowed on Hobhouse in due course. Crewe was looking better, and Winston was evidently very pleased, receiving my congratulations with great cordiality. McKenna, on the other hand, was clearly out of conceit with the situation, and, from what I am told, it was not surprising. It is not a little curious that poor Tweedmouth's nephew should revenge upon McKenna the rude manner in which he (Tweedmouth) was bundled out of the Admiralty for the other's benefit. It appears that at the last meeting of the Defence Committee in August, at a moment when the Morocco crisis might have taken a most dangerous turn, there was an acute difference between Haldane and McKenna. It is notorious that the naval authorities have hitherto resisted the invitation to adopt the plan of a general staff whose business it is to evolve, elaborate, and fortify a theory or doctrine of war, providing by a detailed scheme for such eventualities as can be approximately foreseen, and the occasion seems to have been taken to expose unmercifully the deficiencies of the Admiralty in this respect, with the paralysis that might thereby ensue to the best-laid military plans. Haldane has, of course, the ear of Asquith to a greater degree than any of his colleagues, and the Prime Minister took the opportunity to communicate, probably in somewhat decided terms, to McKenna that a change must be

made. McKenna pleaded at least for a reprieve, and urged that, if he was to go, the sentence might be deferred to the end of the year, or even the beginning of next Session. Winston might have accepted this with impatience, but, on the matter being brought before the King, he said emphatically if there was to be an exchange of offices, it should take place before he left, and looking to the fact that the Naval Estimates must come up for consideration next month, His Majesty was doubtless right. McKenna, however, was clearly very sore and spoke to me very bitterly of the sudden and unexpected character of the move. He took a sardonic pleasure in the reflection that some days must elapse before the new Admiralty warrant was ready, during which he would draw two salaries, and I suppose Winston be without any. Lord Morley was obviously inclined to think the Prime Minister had not shown much consideration for McKenna's feelings, and had some censure for the mistake he made in allowing his rougher side to show itself. There had been some idea, Lord Morley added, of transferring Haldane to the Admiralty and giving Winston the War Office, which would perhaps have been the best way out; but it broke down owing to obligations which Haldane felt it still his duty to discharge.

Lord Morley told me he had heard from Esher, who was very discontented with the Duke's "Life." He deplored its early appearance, and thought the account of the Fiscal Crisis badly planned and ineffectively stated; the freedom, too, with which Cabinet communications were handled created in his opinion an inconvenient precedent. I think there is some justice in the criticism that, with most of the actors living, we are a little too near the event for its true perspectives to appear, and the sense that this is so may have caused some confusion of treatment in particulars; but I cannot say that the general impression left on my mind is unfair to anyone or inconsistent with the view I took at the time.

*October 25th.*—Runciman and Pease attended this morning, the one to be sworn and the other to affirm in connection with their new offices.

Lord Morley has arranged for a young German to be at the Office two or three times a week for German conversation: perhaps this is an indication that, to check volubility, it has been decided to discuss German policy in the language of the Fatherland, which Lord Morley thinks will give Haldane too great an advantage!

I again discussed with Lord Morley the propriety of adding a fifth to the number of the Councillors of State during the King's absence. He would not hear of Lord Rosebery, and of all the possible names was at last brought to agree that, if another was included, there was least objection to Lord Roberts. I had

mentioned the Archbishop of York, if he could put up with another ecclesiastic, to which he answered, "We should have all our Nonconformist friends at us then"; adding, "We have a Cardinal now; it would be delightful to have a Cardinal on!" Talking of his speech to-morrow in praise of Lord James and Onslow, he suddenly broke out, in his inimitable way, "La Bruyère, or some great French writer, says it is a sign of mediocrity to praise with moderation. I shall not commit that error." One of the great secrets of Lord Morley's power in politics lies in the extent to which he practises the maxim of Goethe: "There is hardly a greater advantage for a man to acquire than that of discerning the merits of his opponents; it gives him a decided ascendancy over them": an advantage, it may be added, which most politicians studiously avoid.

*November 6th.*—It appears to be definitely decided to restrict the Commission to four members for all purposes, with two as a quorum. Lord Morley told me to-day that the Cabinet, in reviewing the Morocco crisis, recorded the opinion that an exaggerated sense of the urgency of the occasion had been entertained, and this judgment is certainly in confirmation of the impression I had at the moment. Lord Morley's sarcastic comment was worth hearing: "Well," he said, "the net result has been that one eminent Minister has been unshipped, and another, perhaps even more eminent, has obtained the rating he desired."

*November 9th.*—As I was on my way to the House of Commons last night to see Lloyd George on the Sheriffs List, I was met by the announcement that Arthur Balfour had resigned the leadership of the Unionist Party. I encountered Haldane just afterwards, who said the decision was no doubt irrevocable and most certainly due to the state of his health, adding—and there I entirely agreed with him—"he is the last man to surrender to clamour." Lloyd George expressed himself with heartfelt regret, avowing his admiration for the way he had conducted a difficult and thankless task. There is no question that the loss to the Unionist Party is in a sense irreparable; no doubt a leader fit to do the ordinary House of Commons work will be found among the men who stand around Mr. Balfour, but the qualities which lifted statesmanship out of the ruts of party scheming will no longer illuminate the counsels of the Opposition. There have been moments when he seemed to lose strength in suppleness, and even to sacrifice prudence to dexterity; but in the attributes of mind, the force of logic, the courage of endurance and high purpose, patience and dignity under defeat, he displayed resources of the highest order and adorned them with a charm and courtesy of fence which justified the Prime Minister's description of him this evening as "the most distinguished member of the greatest deliberative assembly in the world."

*November* 10*th.*—Lord Morley this morning added his testimony to all I have heard in praise of Arthur Balfour's parliamentary gifts and the gap his disappearance from active command will create. While giving Walter Long and Austen Chamberlain every credit for their accomplishments in debate, he said there was no one else on the Tory side, unless it might be George Curzon, who had the power to touch the imagination of the people and stir them to fervid feeling by his oratory.

The Prime Minister, Carrington, and Spencer, with the Lord President, constituted the Council this morning, at which the necessary powers were conferred upon the Councillors of State. I issued a circular this afternoon to all the offices prescribing the procedure.

Yesterday the first Committee of the Privy Council under the recent Baronets Warrant assembled to adjudicate upon the case of Cox of Dunmanway. Lord St. Aldwyn presided, with Granard, Beauchamp, Lord Rathmore, and Sir R. Romer. An hour served to expose the futility of the petitioner's claim, a joint Memo. prepared by Garter and the Irish Attorney-General having knocked the bottom out of it in a way which the claimant found it impossible to counteract in a long and windy harangue. Romer proved a very valuable member of the Court, and Lord St. Aldwyn well maintained the judicial credit of the Tribunal. I heard this morning from Byrne of the Home Office, who is Registrar of the Baronets, in strong praise of the manner in which the enquiry was conducted.

*November* 13*th.*—As Prince Arthur of Connaught wanted some information about the proceedings of the Councillors of State, I went to Clarence House and explained what was proposed. He was very pleasant, and most ready to sacrifice his convenience in order to be regular in attendance at their meetings, which, if the objections of the Chancellor can be met, are arranged for Thursdays at 3 p.m.

The nomination of the Sheriffs took place in the afternoon, unattended by any exceptional features.

*November* 14*th.*—I like Lord Morley's belligerency. He seems to think he cannot show his respect for a man better than by crossing swords with him. At present he is determined to bring the Lord Chancellor to reason and induce him to accept Thursdays for the meetings of the Councillors of State, it having been ascertained from both Prince Arthur and the Archbishop that the day suits them.

George Buchanan, who has to bring his leave to a premature close and starts for Petersburg to-morrow, told me that the action of Russia in Persia was creating a very difficult situation, and one that disturbed Sir E. Grey most seriously. Somewhat like Italy in Tripoli, she has precipitately seized an indifferent pretext

for presenting an ultimatum, when a little patience would have given her a much better opportunity. The feeling between us and Germany being so strained, the Foreign Office cannot risk giving umbrage to Russia, though the steps she has taken are quite inconsistent with our mutual engagements, and in the end we shall probably have to acquiesce in proceedings we altogether condemn. Such is the risky game of European combinations.

*November 15th.*—When the Lords met yesterday to take the Copyright Bill, Haldane, who was in charge, had a temperature of 103°. After three hours' close application to the business of the Committee, he turned to Lord Morley with the words, "I have got rid of all fever now; come and let us have a bottle of champagne."

*November 16th.*—The first meeting of the Councillors of State took place; not, however, without a storm, all the more violent for being suppressed. The Lord Chancellor, who had been consulted most courteously upon the arrangements for meeting weekly, made a bitter complaint of the selection of Thursday, on the score of some interruption in the judicial business of the House of Lords; and though professing a desire to meet the convenience of his colleagues, was evidently determined that the very real exigencies of their position should be sacrificed to his sense of grievance, which was in large measure imaginary. It appeared that the Archbishop, whose centre of activity this time of year is at Canterbury, much preferred Thursday, and that Prince Arthur of Connaught, whose military duties called him to York, shared his views; but the Lord Chancellor, although it was pointed out to him that meeting on Thursday would be so arranged as only to curtail the sittings of the House of Lords by one half-hour per week, most truculently insisted upon a concession to his wishes. Lord Morley was obviously quivering with wrath, and nothing but a sense of the indecency of quarrelling with a colleague before a Prince and an Archbishop, kept him within the bounds of verbal moderation. I never saw the Chancellor exhibit himself in such an unenviable light, and the line he took illustrated the extreme difficulty he must often create in his dealings with the Cabinet. He struck me as jealous of the position Lord Morley had rightly taken in assuming the initiative, and threw out the *obiter dictum* that the Councillors of State had nothing to do with the Privy Council: an assertion upon which the whole of past precedent and present authority is against him. Indeed, so reckless was he, that but for the sense of restraint which everyone else felt, it would have been easy to upset all his contentions.

*November 20th.*—Walking back from Brooks's with Arthur Nicolson, we met Lloyd George and the Master of Elibank, who stopped to talk about the coming debate on the Morocco Crisis, which has been fixed for Monday, when at any rate the discussion

in the French Chamber will have been entered upon. Lloyd George hoped the Foreign Office was going to be perfectly frank, even if the Secretary of State's declaration did not altogether bear out the statement of the German Chancellor, which was of course intended for domestic purposes. Arthur Nicolson replied that Sir E. Grey was certainly in favour of keeping nothing back, and added that we had a very good case. "Perhaps," said Lloyd George with a smile, "that is the reason why I advocate candour so strongly." Arthur Nicolson told me afterwards there was no member of the Cabinet he had found such a stand-by throughout recent difficulties, and further went on to say that there was no one who could do better if he would only observe sufficient reticence.

At Brooks's I saw Albert Grey for the first time since his return from Canada. He said he had come back to find all the causes, which he had had at heart throughout life, booming. A proof, at least, that he has not left his optimism in Canada.

*November 22nd.*—At dinner last night with the Freddy Maudes we met Haldane, Lady Weigall, R. Paget, and Lady Muriel, Edward and Lady Ward. I got Haldane to give a most lucid account of "graduated initial stresses," a term appearing in a War Office Memo. respecting a claim for recognition I had to submit to the Councillors of State to-day. He seems to know as much of the manufacture of artillery as he does of the composition of explosives.

Only the Archbishop and the Lord Chancellor met this afternoon, the Lord Chancellor in the result of the correspondence which had passed between him and Lord Morley, appearing quite at his best.

*November 28th.*—Lloyd George's style is not improving. His speech at Bath on Saturday was one of the poorest exhibitions he has made; violent and inconsequent, and so hopelessly amateurish in his approach to a question of such gravity as the so-called enfranchisement of women. To turn to statesmanship of a higher order, Lord Morley said yesterday of Sir E. Grey that he knew no one so capable, upon a critical occasion, of choosing his words with precision and felicity, and this morning that will be the opinion of the civilised world. For judgment, temper, and lucidity on a matter which required the most delicate handling nothing could have exceeded the speech delivered last night; the candour of his explanations and the sombre dignity of the implied rebuke for its conspicuous absence in the authoritative statement on the other side, were very impressive. The value of character in the forefront of international controversy was never more conspicuously vindicated.

*December 4th.*—We went down to Wimbledon yesterday afternoon and spent an hour with the Beauchamps. It was in brilliant

sunshine, and we had an equally brilliant moon to guide our return, and all within two hours, a somewhat unusual experience for the time of year.

Lord Morley told me he heard this morning from Colebrooke that the Opposition in the House of Lords intended to content themselves with a strong protest upon the way the Insurance Bill had been handled, a course which will add force to his (Lord Morley's) observation a day or two ago, that we now enjoyed "single Chamber government run mad." I took the Commission appointing the new Board of Admiralty to Lambeth for the addition of the Archbishop's approval. He took the occasion to comment upon the extraordinary scene between the Lord President and the Lord Chancellor a fortnight ago, which gave me the opportunity of explaining that the Lord Chancellor's description of what had passed was not an accurate one, as he had been given the same chance as the other two of suggesting a convenient hour. He had not been surprised at Lord Morley's explosiveness, as at a time when he saw a great deal of Campbell-Bannerman, visiting him almost daily as he lay dying, the Prime Minister discussed his colleague with some freedom, and, on the Archbishop's talking of Morley's philosophic calm, he broke in, "Ah! wait till you know Morley better; there is no one who can boil up heat so unexpectedly."

*December 6th.*—Only Lord Morley and the Archbishop met to-day for the transaction of the King's business. They are on excellent terms, and Lord Morley said, on the Archbishop's departure, "he gave him the impression of an excellent man of affairs." We were talking about the third outbreak of fire at Delhi, this time destroying the King's tent, and Lord Morley mentioned the opinion of an Anglo-Indian, whom he had seen this morning and described as the first authority on Indian affairs to be found in England, to the effect that, quite apart from the question whether those fires, or any of them, were the act of an incendiary, the result working on the feelings of a superstitious people like the Hindoos could not fail to inspire them with the conviction of an evil omen. He then proceeded to quote a remark of Pascal: "Three parts of the mischief in the world would be prevented if men were only content to remain quiet in their own parlours." The Archbishop asked whether that might not also interfere with much of the good in the world!

*December 13th.*—Lord Morley spoke to me to-day very seriously about the change affecting Bengal announced yesterday. He asked if I had read a long telegram in "The Times," giving the impressions of their correspondent and a colleague, as gathered from the people assembled at Delhi, which, so far as first impressions carry weight, are decidedly ominous, and Lord Morley declared that they substantially coincided with the view he had

represented to Crewe on the subject. He then proceeded to give a most dramatic account of his meeting Lord Lansdowne and Curzon two days ago at Lansdowne House, in order to prepare them for the announcement. Lord Lansdowne exhibited his customary calm, but Curzon was "not only vehement but violent," and poured forth a torrent of denunciation upon the whole project and claimed as his right its immediate discussion in Parliament. Lord Morley strongly deprecated such a step, first on the ground that it would be very inexpedient to forestall the manifestation of Indian opinion, and, secondly, that it would be disastrous to embark on such a discussion while the King was in India. With these views Lord Lansdowne fortunately was in agreement, and, though Curzon refused to pledge himself to reticence, he appears to have so far mastered his indignation as to have done no more in the House of Lords than indicate the temper in which he approached the change. It is obviously an occasion for very wary walking, and precipitate criticism is the first thing to avoid.

*December 15th.*—Dined last night with the Meyer Sassoons. I took Evelyn Lady Alington in (she preserves her youth wonderfully), and talked to Dorothy Malmesbury afterwards. There is no sign in this house of the departure of Israel's glory; everything shone with great lustre.

The morning sitting held yesterday in the House of Lords for the consideration of the Scottish Smallholders' Bill ended in a fiasco due to Pentland's obstinacy, owing to the fear he has of the Scottish Radicals. The Bill had to be taken in the evening, and all the outstanding points were then settled in accordance with the wishes of the Opposition. Subsequently Lord Balfour denounced in vigorous terms the mess into which they had got, and threatened to divide as a protest. Pentland sidled up to Lord Morley and implored him, as Leader of the House, to reply; upon which Lord Morley rejoined, "I will do nothing of the sort; I agree with every word he has said. I am ashamed to belong to a Government that has dealt with a Bill in such a way, and I will get up and tell him that, if you like." Poor Pentland turned green, and retired crest-fallen to the other end of the bench.

*December 16th.*—Council on behalf of the King for the Prorogation of Parliament. All the Councillors of State present: the Prime Minister, Beauchamp, Granard, and Emmott attended. Asquith told the Lord Chancellor it was his temperance friends who, by an ill-advised amendment of the Finance Act, had led the Speaker to declare it outside the provisions of the Parliament Act. He gave a curious reason for the postponement of next Session till February 14th. It appears Redmond took exception to the 13th as a day of ill omen for a session from which Ireland expected so much, and quoted in support of his misgivings

that Mr. Gladstone had introduced the second Home Rule Bill on the 13th April. The Government accordingly capitulated, and, as the Session is likely to last ten months, a day's respite is of some value.

*December 19th.*—The Archbishop and Lord Morley met to clear off arrears of business. More than fifty documents were submitted for signature. It was settled that I should take down to Canterbury on January 2nd all that accrued during the Christmas holidays, for the Lord Chancellor, who lives near Walmer, and the Archbishop to handle.

## 1912

*January 2nd.*—The Lord Chancellor and the Archbishop met at the Palace, Canterbury, for the transaction of business as Councillors of State.

I left London at 9.20, taking several boxes of papers. Our meeting was appointed for 12 o'clock, and I had just time for luncheon before my return. The newly constructed building on the site of the old Palace of Canterbury is interesting by the incorporation therein of some parts of the old structure which went back to the twelfth century: in fact, the vestibule of Mrs. Davidson's drawing-room was the hall in Becket's Palace, where the knights first interviewed his trembling servants, and access is at present obtained to the Cathedral by the same passage along which the Archbishop went to the scene of his martyrdom.

Lady Loreburn came over from Deal with the Lord Chancellor, and there was also at luncheon Archdeacon Spooner, who had been *proxime accessit* to Lord Loreburn for the Balliol Scholarship, and had, moreover, examined the Archbishop for his ordination.

*January 17th.*—The Councillors of State held another Council, principally in order to give effect to some of the changes at the Admiralty consequent on the establishment of the Naval Staff. The *personnel* of this body are to be lodged in the First Lord's house, and it was necessary to give Winston Churchill an allowance of £500 per annum as compensation for being turned out, the large room on the ground-floor being reserved for receptions. As a matter of fact, he will be a considerable gainer by the transaction, as the expenses of living at the Admiralty are very large. Carrington, Macnamara, Seely, and George Russell attended. Lord Morley, who had postponed his return to the last moment owing to the illness of Lady Morley, reached the office by 2.30, and I had three-quarters of an hour with him before we commenced business. He seemed much the better for his stay at Nice, which he had enjoyed, the weather being like an unbroken June. He spoke with some gravity of the political outlook, which in his judgment had been aggravated by the laxity and mis-

calculation of the Prime Minister in dealing with the question of Women's Suffrage. He did not disguise his own lack of any deep sympathy with the movement, but, looking to its present parliamentary position, he thought Asquith's attitude prejudicial to the prospect of keeping it under control, and disastrous in its moral effect on the Ministry, when the country is afforded the spectacle of its leading Members tearing one another to pieces on the platform.

Lord Morley confirmed all I have heard of Asquith's indolence in shirking a difficulty, confident in his ability to furnish at least some provisional solution when the situation created by neglect threatens to get out of hand. He attributed much of his weakness as a Prime Minister to the lawyer's habit of throwing aside everything when he has disposed of his briefs, charging his clerk not to trouble him with any more business. As to Lord Morley's personal position, he was not anxious to stay long, and would refuse to continue the leadership in the House of Lords if Crewe was unable to resume it, unless it was vested in him absolutely. According to what he heard of Crewe, his recovery appeared complete, but his convalescence did not rest on any assured foundation. It was essential he should, if possible, continue at the India Office, and he would no doubt desire to take the leadership. Lord Morley did not look upon Haldane as a possible competitor, in his judgment Beauchamp being a much more eligible candidate.

He was very frank in his admission that he had been too apprehensive on the score of the King's visit to India, and, if the King rallied him upon his misgivings proving baseless, it would not disturb his equanimity. As to the changes in Indian administration effected by the King-Emperor's agency, it was as yet too early to form a decided opinion. He reiterated that the inspiration of them had come entirely from Hardinge and his council, and was rather anxious to know what line Minto was likely to take in the debate which Curzon would no doubt initiate at the earliest opportunity. Minto's government and he personally had so explicitly and repeatedly pledged themselves to the maintenance of Curzon's arrangements that he foresaw some difficulty in his subscribing to what has been done. He was thankful, for his part, that Crewe would have to defend it. Chirol he believed to be acquiescent, but he was waiting to see him and gather his impressions at first hand.

*January 24th.*—I saw Donoughmore, who spoke with some apprehenson of the effect upon Unionists in the south of Ireland which might follow the present situation in Belfast. While appreciating the provocation, he thought the Orangemen would have been wiser not to take up the challenge. Later, Lord Morley spoke to me on the same subject with grave impressiveness. He

deplored Winston Churchill's recklessness, as well as the manner in which it had been met. The last chance for the introduction of the Home Rule Bill in a calm atmosphere had, he said, been destroyed. Correspondents whom he could trust assured him that there were present in Ireland elements as inflammable as he, to his cost, had had to reckon with twenty-five years ago, and all these forces were now about to be unchained. To my enquiry whether Winston had consulted his colleagues before deciding to speak at Belfast, he replied, "He spoke to Lloyd George, but consultation with colleagues is not encouraged." On my remarking that thereby the Prime Minister was no doubt saved much immediate trouble, Lord Morley added sententiously, "That is a consideration to which he is not insensible." The question what Redmond would in the last resort accept was in his opinion complicated by all sorts of obscure influences, the strength of which it was difficult to measure and the direction almost impossible to trace. The outlook filled him with misgiving, and might at any moment give rise to serious disquiet.

The Councillors of State (Lord President, Archbishop, and Lord Chancellor) met and signed between forty and fifty documents.

*February 2nd.*—The last meeting of the Councillors of State took place at 2.30, the time having been altered from four o'clock, in consequence of the Cabinet meeting at three. The Archbishop made some difficulty, as he had twenty-six Bishops at Lambeth, but he attended in common with the rest. Some conversation arose upon the Thanksgiving Service, which Prince Arthur thought tended to over-emphasise the risks of a visit to India, and which the Archbishop defended as in accordance with precedent.

The Councillors of State laid down their functions with many expressions of mutual good-will, the Lord Chancellor and Prince Arthur pressing upon me their cordial acknowledgments of what service I had been able to render.

*February 3rd.*—My wife and I went to Mr. Bacon's studio for the purpose of having our features put into the Coronation Picture: all those, it appears, who were occupying positions within the point of view commanded by the painter are to be introduced, and some hundreds of portraits will thus have to be made. A large number are more or less complete, some even of the minor ones being extraordinarily good, and the rest will have to be finished in little more than two months. Elmley, who was Beauchamp's page, has been put in between his father and the Archbishop, and presents a charming picture of childlike interest among the time-worn figures around him. One or two of the young ladies in attendance on the Queen are very well portrayed, particularly Lady Mary Dawson and Lady Eileen Butler. The moment chosen is just after the "enthronisation," when the Archbishop is about to tender his homage.

*February 6th.*—The King and Queen's arrival in London was chilled by the prevalence of intense cold. The scene at the railway station was animated, but too prolonged. Lord Morley paid the highest tribute to Queen Alexandra's appearance, who, he said, might have been twenty-eight. The King he thought looked worried and anxious to bring the ceremony to a close, but the Queen behaved as if she enjoyed it, and seemed to him to have come on greatly in *aplomb* and self-possession.

*February 10th.*—Hopwood came to see me this morning for some instruction as to the formalities to be observed upon his being sworn. He tells me Winston surprises the naval members of the Board by the frequence and urgency of his minutes, requesting information on every conceivable subject. He also said, to his credit, that there is a reason for everything that he asks.

Winston is not by any means the first politician who owes some steps in his rise to the bold use of opportunity, and yet, having achieved his ambition, has shown a remarkable power of adapting himself to its uses, with judgment, dignity, and elevation of purpose.

*February 12th.*—There is a section of the Cabinet, headed by the Lord Chancellor and Lord Morley, who are angry with Winston Churchill's indiscreet declaration that her fleet is a luxury to Germany, an expression which is really void of meaning, having regard to the expansion of German trade and the increase in the amount carried in German bottoms. Lord Morley had McKenna with him for a long time this morning to consider the subject in preparation for the Cabinet, which meets at five. How far the vehemence of Lord Morley's feelings is reflected among his colleagues I have no means of knowing, but the comments of the German Press are enough to show the mischief that has been caused by such a strange lapse from ordinary prudence. It will be interesting to know what Haldane has to say to the effect produced upon the conduct of his "negotiation."

*February 13th.*—I hear from Lord Morley, who was doubtful as to the wisdom of Haldane's mission, that the account given of it at the Cabinet yesterday removed his scruples. He is satisfied that, without the attainment of anything definite, Haldane's claim to have cleared the air is well founded; to have achieved so much is a step forward on the path of mutual understanding. Though he shared his colleagues' regret at the form of Winston's remarks, Haldane appeared to think their candour had contributed rather than otherwise to the success of his task. His first duty, on Winston's speech reaching Berlin, had been to explain that the English word "luxury" did not bear the offensive sense often given to its German equivalent, of something approaching debauchery, a kind of *dévergondage*. Asquith, however, thought

it neeessary to speak in strong disapproval of what had been said, and with his sanction Lord Morley had added a fatherly admonition.

With the introduction of six new Privy Councillors and the defacement of the Great Seal, upon the delivery of the new one, the Council was somewhat protracted. The Lord President created amusement during the reeital of the Admiralty Memorials by substituting "Radical" for "Medical" in an Order approving "an increase in the allowanee to certain medieal officers."

Lord Morley's conversation with the King caused him some misgiving upon the consequences of his Indian visit. The notion of governing India according to the ideas of the people is all very well, but in dealing with India you cannot, he said, pausc too often to refleet that no one knows what Indian opinion is; means of making it manifest do not exist, and there is no body or class able to follow its currents or fathom its mystery. He was only thankful that he would not be called upon, as Secretary of State, to give effect to the rash speculations of self-confident dogmatism.

Sandhurst is to be the new Lord Chamberlain, an appointment well earned and likely to give universal satisfaction.

The Garter to Sir E. Grey is as deliberate a snub to his Radical critics as the Prime Minister could well have contrived, and the moment chosen is open to no other eonstruction. It is a recognition of fine character and high courage in the field of polities, a tribute to the qualities that make and adorn history. No man has asked more of himself and relied less on others in the acquisition of a great reputation, and his selection for so conspicuous a reward illustrates merit no less than it confounds calumny.

*February 20th.*—A ball last night at the Ritz, given by Lady De La Warr and Lady Mabelle Egerton. I had supper with Mrs. Pease. She said one thing which I believe is quite true, that there are not more than three members of the Cabinet who are sincere advocates of Female Suffrage.

In discussing the arrangement of the table for the Lord President's dinnor on Friday, it proved neeessary to remove Pease from the place first assigned to him next Chesterfield, to the opposite side of the table by J. Burns. On the Private Secretary saying that Pease would much prefer the position by Chesterfield, Lord Morley observed, "He is a Quaker, and has no right to such feelings."

*February 21st.*—The debate in the House of Lords last night on the Indian policy announced at the Durbar was memorable for the two longest speeches ever delivered in that assembly. The whole available time was occupied by Curzon and Crewe, the onc speaking for one hour and thirty-five minutes, and the other one hour and fifty-three minutes.

*February 24th.*—The Lord President's Sheriffs' Dinner took

place last night at the Ritz. It would have been difficult to surpass the excellence of the bill of fare or the fine quality of the wines. In the absence of Beauchamp on account of Lady Beauchamp's confinement, and by Chesterfield's inadvertence, our numbers were reduced. All the Secretaries of State were present, but the Prime Minister and the Lord Chancellor notable absentees. Crewe, on arrival, rather disconcerted Lord Morley by some reference to the disaster which overtook him last year. I had an opportunity of congratulating Haldane on the success of his diplomatic mission. He said he had never enjoyed three days more, and had every reason to be gratified by the official attitude. He added, however, that he went to Berlin altogether uncertain as to the reception he might meet, and had been obliged to feel his way at every step. At dinner I gave almost undivided attention to John Burns, who had a tremendous innings.

The display of himself is so artless and withal human in its characteristics, that one is content to take it as a document at its face value. He is very proud of his friendship with King Edward, whose personality appears to have left an enduring impression. He had been with King George for an hour and twenty minutes two days ago, and had many good words for him, as well as for the kindness and intelligence of the Queen in matters affecting the well-being of the people. It appears he once took King Edward over Hampton Court: which led him to tell me he had there spent his honeymoon, a one-day affair; the couple were, however, determined to dine at the Mitre, and pawned the wedding-ring for the purpose! His knowledge of the topography of London and its neighbourhood is immense, and his interest in it, both historical and antiquarian, most vivid and intelligent. He has a library of 7,000 volumes, largely illustrative of such subjects: he began to collect them at fourteen, about the time when, as he remembers, upon Chelsea Bridge he recovered from the wind the hat of Thomas Carlyle.

He is a convinced optimist upon the future of the country and the untainted integrity of the British character. I welcomed his declaration that we suffered from too much lawgiving, and was prepared to concede his claim for the Government that the most conspicuous success had lain in administration.

The death of D'Aerenthal has been the European event of the week: the only great statesmen whom Austria has produced since Charles V. Writing of him six years ago at the opening of his ministry, E. M. de Vogüé noted his "application au travail, sagacité de la raison, fermeté de caractère," qualities to which the interval had borne ample witness. His death was as memorable as his life. Rousing himself from the coma of his last extremity, he exclaimed, in the words of the motto he had assumed, "Unelated by success, and not cast down by misfortune." Of

such are they who carry the head high across the threshold of history.

*February 29th.*—Council to-day, at which the Privy Seal was restored to Crewe, and McKinnon Wood received the Scottish Seal. The Great Seal of Scotland in use during the last reign was defaced and given to Pentland. At the pricking of the Sheriffs the King was curious to learn how long the present bodkin had been used. I could not tell him off-hand, but mentioned we had an older one in the office which I promised he should see.

*March 1st.*—The coal strike has come upon us, in spite of the efforts of the Government to arrest its development. Their conduct of the crisis appears to me open to very grave criticism. With the sources of information at their disposal it should have been clear to them long ago that there was no chance of reaching a mutual accommodation, and, but for the Prime Minister's invincible objection to bestir himself except at the last moment, active intervention should and might have been entered upon a month ago. That intervention should, moreover, have been undertaken on different lines. Whatever was the strength of the miners' position—and I believe much of it might fairly and safely be conceded—they should have been told that a general strike would not be allowed. It should, in short, have been treated as a conspiracy against the safety of the State, and an intimation conveyed to the Trades Unions that, sooner than allow their funds to be appropriated to such a purpose, they would be impounded by the Government, and, if necessary, an Act of Indemnity passed to cover the proceeding. At the same time it should have been announced that the Government were prepared, by legislative enactment, to secure the miners in the enjoyment of a minimum wage upon equitable conditions. By these means the interests of the community would have been reconciled with justice to the operatives. It might no doubt have meant a breach with the Labour Party, and the early collapse of the Government; but other causes are bringing about its doom: Ministers themselves are weary of "well-doing," and no better moment could have been chosen for inscribing upon their tomb that, careless of their own fortunes, they saved the State.

The unpopularity of the Insurance Bill nearly lost McKinnon Wood a seat in Glasgow. The Member for Peebles, in addressing his constituents, waxed eloquent on the future of insurance, and declared the time would come when a copy of the Act would be found carefully bound and stored by the side of the Bible in every Scottish cottage. A grim old shepherd, who had been watching him for some time with the disconcerting impassiveness characteristic of the class, interposed, "D'ye ken the Bible, Mr. McLean, and believe in it?" "I believe every word of it," was the reply. The shepherd, slowly: "Is it the case that under

your Act if a lassie has a bairn she gets a benefit?" "It is," said Mr. McLean. "Weel, sir," replied the shepherd, "the Scripture says the wages of sin is death, but your Act says it is thirty shillings."

*March 6th.*—The result of the South Manchester election led to Lloyd George meeting with a somewhat cold reception at the Cabinet. No one can doubt the evidence of a strong revulsion of feeling at the present moment, and it is to a large extent the direct Nemesis of the hurried way in which the Insurance Act was pressed through the House of Commons and the megalomaniac passion of Lloyd George for doing things on a big scale.

*March 9th.*—I had a very agreeable luncheon with the Montroses. The Duchess was anxious to know what chance there was of extending the Midwives Act to Scotland, and I brought a draft of the measure with me. The atmosphere struck me as in most pleasant contrast with the morbid credulity and crazy fanaticism that so many women believe to be proofs of superior intelligence. Composure, gentleness, and sympathy are after all the highest and most enduring social gifts.

*March 16th.*—With the breakdown of the negotiations connected with the strike, the nakedness of the Government's position is exposed. With every disposition to do justice to their intentions, I am driven to the belief that a short-sighted view of purely party interest has controlled the situation. That Machiavelli *in petto*, as Lord Morley called him, Alexander Murray, has decided that the risks of any coercive action are too great for him to countenance.

The decision of Ministers, at this the thirteenth hour, to proceed by Bill means a delay of at least a fortnight, and meanwhile the industries of the country are slowly bleeding to death.

*March 20th.*—I was with Lord Morley for three-quarters of an hour this morning. He asked me what I thought of the present situation, explaining that, in the opinion of the Government, the choice lay between the proposed legislation and allowing things to drift on the chance of the strike dying of inanition, with, in the meanwhile, the attendant horrors of popular privation and industrial paralysis. I said it was obvious the Bill was a mere hand-to-mouth expedient, designed to deal with a particular object, and I presumed the Government had assurances that the men would resume work on Monday, otherwise nothing but aggravation of the mischief could ensue. He assured me the Government were acting on that belief, an estimate of the situation which a few hours showed to be another fatal miscalculation. Discussing the wider aspect of politics, I told him "cowardice was the curse of every Cabinet," a proposition he evinced no anxiety to deny, and I went on to say that a Whip's duty seemed the profession of political poltroonery, which drew from him the

remark that he would not exclude their excellent Master of Elibank, to whose merits he was thoroughly alive, from the weight of such a charge. Tweedmouth he thought was the only exception he knew to the rule. I had sent him a day or two before the fifth volume of the Colonial Series of the Acts of the Privy Council, to which I had written the preface. He had been much interested in reading it, and in connection with a paragraph where I had commented upon the permanence of forms in which our practice was enshrined, said, "It is a great satisfaction to me to close my career in such a conservative office." The words from Renan with which I ended, "Les vrais hommes de progrès sont ceux qui ont pour point de départ un respect profond du passé," drew from him an almost solemn endorsement.

Mill's name was mentioned, and from that he became retrospective, reminding me that on his first speech in the House of Commons Disraeli looked at him quizzically through his monocle, and then, turning to the man next him, ejaculated, "A finishing governess!" Meredith, he told me, had said the same thing, though more good-naturedly: "Mill, you know, is a spinster." He described that when he first came to London he attended a meeting to promote the enfranchisement of women, at which Mill presided, and Grote, Mrs. Grote, Froude, and Charles Kingsley were present. "That," he said, "was the beginning of the great series of statutes which secured the civil independence of woman." "Yes, Lord Morley," I replied, "and the fact of that great series of statutes being obtained from Parliaments of men and representatives of men alone seems to me to destroy the main contention of the suffragette of to-day." "I will not say that you are wrong," was the rejoinder, and he went on to indicate that but for the lifelong attitude he had taken on the question as a disciple of Mill, he might have gone so far as to appear on the platform with Lord Loreburn and Harcourt. He amused me with a story of how one day, during Lord Salisbury's last Administration, having met St. John Brodrick and Arthur Balfour on their way to a Cabinet, some banter ensued upon the subject they were about to discuss, and one of them said, "You had better come with us, Lord Salisbury will never notice you are there." His absence of mind was such that once he is said to have come down to dinner with the Garter Ribbon over a nightshirt!

Another story was of G. A. Sala, who at dinner, when Lord Morley was one of the party, hurled a decanter at another guest, who had told him that his name in Hindustani signified "an incestuous person." Sala in those days, and indeed in much later ones, was rarely sober, so that his aim fortunately lacked accuracy.

*March 22nd.*—At the Cabinet yesterday Lord Morley was

most strenuous in persuading the Government to resist the temptation to buy the support of Labour by introducing any specific minimum into their Bill. In his opinion the danger of such a step outweighed any advantage that might follow an immediate resumption of work, though he did not believe the refusal to meet the miners on the point would delay their return for a moment longer than they wished to hold out. Their attitude in the matter was a demonstration which it was the duty of the Government to take at its real value. The result was seen in the Prime Minister's unexpected stubbornness when the Bill was in Committee this afternoon, and its effect in reducing the miners to make a substantial overture towards peace. The worth of courage in a political crisis was never more successfully vindicated.

*March 28th.*—Council at Buckingham Palace. Lord Morley, Beauchamp, Sandhurst, and Hobhouse attended. The King kept Lord Morley a long time in audience, and seems to be still subject to concern over the criticism he incurs in the irresponsible press. I had some conversation with His Majesty after the Council on the subject of the petition for a Charter of Incorporation of the British School at Rome, in which he seems to take a lively interest. He also referred to the subject of the Sheriffs' " bodkin " which I sent him the other day. Enquiry at the British Museum had satisfied him that it was no earlier than George III, probably about 1780.

*March 30th.*—I have had some correspondence with Sir George Trevelyan arising out of my preface to the fifth volume of the Colonial Acts of the Privy Council, which I took occasion to send him. In reference to the third Duke of Grafton, he described him as an " interesting, not unadmirable, and most unlucky figure in history " ; to which I replied, " I am glad of what you say of the Duke of Grafton, as, though it does not do to be too sensitive about the reputation of one's great-grandfather, my researches have led me to think he has received scant justice. He was no doubt most unlucky, but, apart from the invective of Junius (personally I had rather be damned in good English than lauded in bad), his greatest ill-luck lay in the fact that his period of supreme office synchronised with the worst days of his domestic crisis. From his second marriage in 1769 to his death in 1811 his life was exemplary. His taste for classical literature survived ; he could discuss Euripides on equal terms with Fox ; he was a pioneer of agricultural progress, and both in politics and theology he was in advance of the reactionary period in which he lived."

*April 1st.*—I had a very cordial reply from Sir G. Trevelyan, in which he referred to many passages in his history for evidence of his feeling towards the Duke, adding, " The plain fact is that I like him, as with greater right it is evidently the case with you."

Lord Morley had a luncheon party on Saturday, at which

Birrell exhibited his resources as a conversationalist. Among the striking things he said, nothing was more remarkable than the assertion that the repeal of the Test Act had sapped the strength of Nonconformity. From it he dates the decay of its vitality and the loss of its self-confidence, the Church having to a large extent occupied the ground from which it has retired. Thus again has history testified to the folly of privileged institutions in relying upon that kind of protection. Dissent was in these days to a large extent a self-conscious fraud; it communicated no illumination to its adherents, nor any force to the State, except in so far as the unexhausted moral fibre of Puritanism was still found among its dying embers.

*April* 12*th*–15*th*.—At Madresfield. A small party: George Peel and Lady Agnes, Professor and Mrs. Stuart of the University of Sydney, and Beauchamp's Private Secretary. The gardens were looking lovely in the rich blossom of this remarkably early spring.

I motored from Oxford, sixty-two miles, as Beauchamp thought the train service, under strike conditions, too tedious. The cold on the top of the Cotswolds was intense; the road lay across their summits in the teeth of a north-west wind, and without any shelter beyond a few wind-stricken plantations. The vale country beyond Cheltenham was in flower *à perte de vue*.

*April* 17*th*.—The loss of the "Titanic" has struck a thrill of horror through the country, but, in the excited demands for life-boat accommodation to the full proportion of a vessel's carrying capacity, the real lesson of the disaster appears in danger of being overlooked. So long as the suicidal policy of running a ship at full speed through ice-encumbered seas is pursued, imminent danger cannot be avoided, and the obligation should be placed by international agreement upon all owners to proceed slowly through a given zone, which could easily be marked on the charts.

*May* 4*th*.—The debate on the second reading of the Home Rule Bill has not strengthened the position of the Government. Their object has been to provide for the immediate urgencies of the parliamentary problem, leaving the deeper questions incidentally tapped to solve themselves as best they may. As soon, therefore, as criticism declines to treat it as an *œuvre de circonstance*, the lack of underlying principle and coherence of purpose makes itself apparent. The inefficacy of the guarantees, upon the assumption that they are necessary, cannot be gainsaid, and it would have been better to have framed the Bill upon the frank admission that the only effective guarantee is the power of the British Government, in case of need, to coerce Ireland into obedience. The scheme of the Bill as it stands supplies the maximum of irritation and the minimum of force. Then,

too, upon the question of Ulster the hints at concession which prominent Ministers have given are evidence of incertitude that cannot fail to have disastrous effects. It is difficult to see how such offers could be made unless the Government are seriously frightened by the attitude of Ulstermen; and how then is it reconcilable with prudent statesmanship to leave such a factor out of calculation in formulating a plan for the self-government of Ireland? Short views and quick returns summarise the wisdom of politicians; but in the long run the evolution of nations is proved to be *l'aboutissant d'un travail séculaire.* It is trying to a man of Lord Morley's stamp, who watches the unrolling of events with the temperament of a seer, to be a party to the reduction of public policy to its present level of chcap opportunism.

*May 13th.*—I saw Lord Morlcy this morning, who had enjoyed his days last week on the "Enchantress." He had becn much impressed by Winston's fitness for his position and the acute intelligence he brought to bear on naval problems. He had also followed with keen interest Arthur Balfour's way of discussing them, and greatly admired the mechanical knowledge he displayed. He said he appeared very easily tired, and on one occasion congratulated him (Lord Morley) on his insensibility to fatigue. Winston's special admiration seems to be Napoleon, and Lord Morley was constrained to remind him that his hero had his Moscow and his St. Helena. He was led on to talk of Cabinets, which he described as curious things. I said I supposed they presented remarkable studies of idiosyncrasy, upon which he remarked, "One hears that or this criticised on public grounds, when one knows that it is merely the expression of A.'s dislike of B." McKenna, he told me, is not fond of Haldane, and showed his feeling the other day with a somewhat comic result. A Committee for dealing with distress at the time of the strike had been appointed, with Haldane presiding, and McKenna, John Burns, Runciman and another, members. At thc first meeting Haldane took charge, and indicated to his colleagues the subject which he thought suitable for each to consider. John Burns put in a plea for delay till he had circulated a Memo. dealing with every aspect of the question as it presented itsclf to the Local Government Board. At the next meeting McKenna said that, having read the Memo., he was entirely in accord with it, and was not going to waste his time with any further discussion: of course John Burns was satisfied with his own view; Runciman said the same; so that all Haldane could do was to dissolve the Committee with the remark that there seemed no work for it.

It appears that, on board the "Enchantress," Winston imparted to Lord Morley that on his and the Prime Minister's forthcoming visit to the Mediterranean, it was intended to hold a meeting of the Imperial Defencc Committee, Lord Kitchener

being expected from Egypt, and one or two Admirals providing the other professional element. It struck Lord Morley as a dangerous and provocative experiment in the present agitated state of European opinion, and he told Winston he should oppose it. Accordingly he raised the question at the Cabinet on Friday in Winston's absence, as it turned out. Haldane, it seems, had told Lord Morley he disliked the idea extremely, as with the exception of Kitchener the War Office would not be represented and the naval men would have it all their own way. However, when the Prime Minister propounded his intention, Haldane's criticism struck Lord Morley as insufficient, and it was left for him to take the lead in traversing the proposal. This he did with such energy that he carried the whole Cabinet with him, Sir E. Grey supporting him with all the force at his command; and in the result the Prime Minister signified his abandonment of the design.

In recounting what passed Lord Morley spoke in a very marked way of the power Harcourt exercised of moulding opinion by the quietest and often unobserved methods, and prophesied that almost any position in the party was open to him. He agreed with my view that the most impressive side of Harcourt's talent lay in the reserve of force which it suggested under the mask of suppleness.

*May* 14*th.*—Council at Buckingham Palace; Lord Morley, Sandhurst, Lord Haversham, and A. Nicolson. Sandhurst was looking pinched after his recent illness. Chesterfield, whom I had also asked to come, replied from a bed of sickness that it was impossible, and I am told his nerves are so broken that he feels a butterfly a burden.

*May* 16*th.*—At Euston to-day for Euston's funeral. The Duke was a tragic figure, bending the weight of his ninety-one years above the remains of his son, the second he has lost in the last twelve months. In that churchyard, outside the little church dedicated to St. Geneviève, full of the memorials of their ancestors, lie three of his children. He could not conceal his restlessness, and all he said seemed to be part of nervous colloquy with himself. It is just thirty years ago since on a bright May morning I walked across the same lawns following the coffin of his predecessor, and now, after the lapse of a generation, the brother's footsteps still lag.

*May* 23*rd.*—Dinner for Lady Burghclere's Ball last night: the Leconfields, Lady Margaret Boscawen and daughter, Willingdon, and Miss Warner. Lord Leconfield struck me as "important," not, however, without reminiscences of his illustrious uncle.

*May* 24*th*–29*th.*—At Heron Court, for Whitsuntide. Eva Anstruther, Arthur Calthorpe, the Guy Sebrights, and Stucleys completed the party. The place was wearing a spring dress of singular beauty, and there was spread through the lawns and

*Photo by Grove, Son and Boulton, from a picture by Sir A. Cope.*

THE DUKE OF GRAFTON, K.G.

woods an accent of the most intimate charm. The spirit of solitude itself seemed to whisper through the whole extent of the valley, and distant harmonies answered to the desire for rest and tranquillity. Dorothy Malmesbury is better, but her fragility awakens the sense of something at issue with the prodigality of spring.

*June 4th.*—Lady Clinton's dance last night was brilliantly staged in the Alingtons' old house. There was much beauty in evidence, and no one looked better than our hostess. I gave Lady Bathurst supper. She has a tenderness of expression which is almost pathetic in its contrast with the hard realities of life.

*June 8th.*—The absence of the Prime Minister has left the management of the transport workers' strike in the hands of Lloyd George and McKenna. There is little ground for congratulation on the result. Lloyd George has shown his old dexterity in grasping at superficial consonances while leaving the real sources of discord untouched, and McKenna has vacillated between harshness and hesitation.

*June 10th.*—The transfer of the Great Seal from Lord Loreburn to Haldane has been conducted with a secrecy which must have caused its present custodian no small measure of pleasurable emotion. Cabinet Ministers even knew nothing of it until the change had been effected, and at Buckingham Palace few were in the secret. The first I heard of it was last night, when between nine and ten I received a telephone message to the effect that Lord Morley and Haldane wanted to see me at the latter's house. It then appeared that, on Lord Loreburn's expressing his wish to resign forthwith, which Sir E. Grey had imparted to Lord Morley on Tuesday, the Prime Minister had been communicated with, who submitted Haldane's name by wireless telegraphy to the King, and left the formalities to be concluded by his Private Secretary, Haldane, and Knollys. Then it was proposed to finish the affair at an audience of the King at a quarter to four in the afternoon on Monday. Fortunately Lord Morley at once took the point, which the others had strangely overlooked, that a Lord Chancellor has to receive the Great Seal and be sworn in Council. I was sent for to make this clear to them and take charge of the arrangements. Accordingly this morning I settled with Knollys that the Council should be held at a quarter to four, and secured Sandhurst as a fourth.

*June 14th.*—For the "Trooping of the Colour" I had a large party on my stand in most beautiful weather. Lady Bathurst, Lady Meriel and Miss Buchanan, Bath, Lady Emma Thynne and Miss Shaw-Stewart, Hamilton and two children, Miss Aurea and Miss Angela Baring, the Sandhursts, Lady Dawson and her sister-in-law, Mrs. and Miss Sassoon, Lady Evelyn Farquhar and a child, Wilfred Ashley, and others.

At three o'clock we had a Council for the delivery of the

seals of the Secretary of State for War to Colonel Seely, who was sworn accordingly. Strachie also took the oath as a Privy Councillor. Lord Morley spoke to me with emphatic condemnation of Dalziel's nomination to the Privy Council, and deplored the Prime Minister's pliability to anything that the Master of Elibank urged upon him.

*June 16th.*—Saturday to Monday at Broadlands : Lady Edith Ashley, the Wodehouses, and Willie Bridgemans. I had not been there for more than twenty years, and enjoyed greatly the rich beauty of the woods and lawns. Romsey Abbey is a dream of sheer delight, and the service there peopled the imagination with the ritual of 800 years. The house itself has some interesting pictures, and the recollections of Lord Palmerston are still recent enough to make the place vivid as the centre of political influence at a period when, beneath the superficial calm, disturbing forces were in labour.

*June 24th.*—Council at 1 p.m. The Lord President, Beauchamp, Sandhurst, and Allendale. The new Privy Councillors were sworn. Richard Cavendish came to see me at the Office, in order to go through the drill, but even with that assistance the ceremonial was somewhat wanting in precision.

*June 27th.*—Lord Lansdowne's motion commenting on the inadequate representation of the public departments in the House of Lords drew from Lord Morley the remark that he had every reason for his complaint. He is refreshingly stubborn against being made an active party to his colleagues' mistakes. When Curzon condemned their Indian policy the other day, he was designedly absent from his place, and told me afterwards he agreed with every word Curzon had said.

*June 28th.*—I dined with Lord Strathcona at the Waldorf Hotel to meet the delegates of the Conference for the interchange of students at English-speaking Universities. I was next Shipley, the Master of Christ's, who, in proposing the delegates' health, told a good story of President Lincoln, who, on being appealed to by two persons engaged in discussing the proportion which a soldier's legs should bear to his body, replied, " It is not a matter to which I have given much attention, but his legs should at least be long enough to reach the ground."

*July 1st.*—The Turing case came on for hearing, with Dunedin presiding ; Herbert Maxwell, Frank Lascelles, and Sir James Stirling sat. The case was a peculiar one, turning upon the evidence that could be adduced that the baronetcy in question was Scottish, as under the ordinary limitation of English dignities the petitioner, who is descended from the brother of the original grantee, could have no claim. In the result the Committee, perhaps somewhat indulgently, accepted the presumption favourable to the claimant and adjudged him the baronetcy.

I dined with Lord Morley at the Athenæum: Sir E. Grey, Hugh Cecil, Lord Minto, Knollys, Lord Courtney, Lord Inchcape, Buckle, Spender, Sir W. Lee-Warner, and one or two others. The conversation was very brilliant towards the end of the evening. Lord Morley has an extraordinary gift for drawing from this or that person the exact contribution required to stimulate the uptake, himself throwing in at the right moment some vivid phrase that sums up the argument and gives a new turn to speculation. Hugh Cecil never showed the resources of his supple and penetrating mind to greater advantage than in the destructive analysis of the causes of parliamentary decadence, which he claimed to be anti-democratic in spirit and tending to maintain power in the hands of an irresponsible Junta. Political divisions in France, he averred, bitter as they were, had not had the same effeet in stunting national policy, a statement Sir E. Grey received with studious reserve. Lord Morley incidentally treated with some scorn the domestic questions that occupied the attention of Parliament compared with the great issues ripening towards the event all over the world. His is one of those minds that never lose their sense of proportion: politics with him are nothing but the vehicle towards that measured treatment of human problems which is expressed in the philosophy of provisional assent. His relations with Hugh Cecil are of a most cordial character, and it was interesting to note the deferential attitude of the younger man towards the past-master of literary expression. H. C. gave one sly thrust in saying, "When Winston was a friend of mine, he was a man of peace, but in your hands he has become a man of war." Everyone agreed with his denunciation of the sterile tyranny of the Whips' room, though opinion differed as to how far it could be dispensed with, if Governments were to be assured some meed of stability. However that may be, it rests, as I took occasion to say, on the organised suppression of higher considerations. Lord Morley was very adroit in drawing upon Lord Courtney's resources. One peculiarity of that noble advocate of the rights of minorities is that his suspicions are at once aroused if anyone agrees with him.

We did not leave the dinner-table till 11.15.

*July 6th.*—The Osterley party was pleasant and the place looking its best. Along the water's edge the spiræas were in full bloom, and particularly good. I stayed to dinner and Lalaing brought me up in his motor. The Longfords, Villiers, Reays, Miss Balfour, Emmotts (three), Lady Allendale (Dowager), and General Fairholme, late Military Attaché at Paris. At dinner I sat between Lady Jersey and Miss Balfour, and had a very interesting talk with the last-named. She has all the family detachment added to a fund of good sense and broad views. Fairholme gave striking testimony to the efficiency of the French

Army, especially the Cavalry and Artillery. His account of the attitude of the French nation during last year's crisis was equally reassuring. For the first time in recent French history the whole nation was at one in restrained confidence: resolute without bravado, and serene in its readiness to meet any event. In his judgment, the result of war would have been a German rebuff. He seems to have found a clue to the diplomacy of Agadir in the intrigues of Caillaux, which encouraged the Germans to believe that such a step would contribute to an understanding with France.

*July* 12*th*–15*th*.—Yachting with Freddy Bentinck on board the "Sorceress" hired from George Colville. Lack of wind somewhat curtailed our programme, but on Saturday we were under sail for nine hours, getting into Yarmouth by Wednesday at eight in the evening. The following day was so hot and windless we could only make Cowes on a fair tide in the afternoon, and on Monday the breathlessness was such that six hours were occupied in reaching Southampton, where we landed at 7.30 p.m., and found that it had been the hottest day on record in the port.

*July* 16*th*.—I saw the Russian Ballet with George Hylton. The legend of Narcissus was very prettily rendered. Henry Labouchere's daughter, the Marchesa Rudini, was just behind us, a lady of great beauty. Lady Ripon measured her length on the ground in coming up the steps at the wings by the stalls: she has a veritable passion for the excitement that the performance offers, and is hardly ever absent.

*July* 19*th*.—The Council to-day was mainly Canadian. In the first place its urgency this week arose out of the necessity for the King in Council to approve the special leave to appeal granted by the Judicial Council in the case of the Canadian Marriage Law. Opportunity was taken to summon Mr. Borden to be sworn: Harcourt and the Canadian Chief Justice, Sir Charles Fitzpatrick, also attended. Fitzpatrick is much above the usual type of colonial lawyer, a man of polished manners, intelligent address, and not without distinct juridical value. He was much gratified by the King's giving him an audience after the Council. Borden struck me as a forceful personality, direct and straightforward in his methods, one to be reckoned with in the estimate of Imperial dynamics.

This afternoon I waited upon the Royal Commission on Civil Establishments and gave evidence upon the organisation and functions of the Privy Council Office. I submitted a Memo. containing a concise summary of the work of the Department, and underwent examination for about one hour and a quarter. Only six members of the Commission were present, including Miss Haldane, and I got off very easily.

The State Ball in the evening presented no novel features.

The German Ambassador's aspect bore out Lalaing's description of it as something fabulous, not to say monstrous.

*July 20th–22nd.*—Sunday with Henry Yorke in a place he has created in the last few years near Uxbridge. The garden is exquisite. In a clearing of some six acres sloping to the north against a background of natural woodland and intersected by several streams, the water of which is ultimately caught in dreaming pools, is collected the most wonderful profusion of flowers and flowering shrubs, bamboos, reeds, and grasses.

*July 27th.*—Going down to Frogmore yesterday, I travelled as far as Woking with Lady Rayleigh, who gave me a sad account of one of her sons, who is stricken with spinal tuberculosis and is lying on his back probably for years in a house that has been taken for him in the vicinity of one of the Treloar Homes under the direction of Dr. Gauvain, who has made a speciality of this form of disease. Lady Rayleigh gave me some most interesting *aperçus* upon the life and idiosyncrasy of her illustrious brother. Not long ago, when he was coming to stay with them, she asked him what he would like in the way of entertainment. "Oh," he said, "something amusing; get some people from Cambridge to talk science." He has really given the aspect of genius to *dilettantism*. She said Lord Rayleigh had to do all he knew to meet his criticism and satisfy his scruples in the science of which he (Lord R.) was the master. There was nothing, from the problems of mechanics and biology to the soaring flights of speculative philosophy, in which he was not at home.

*August 1st.*—The Jersey Education squabble, which owing to the supineness of the Departments with whieh we have to deal, has been allowed to protract itself for years, reached a definite stage this week, and I counselled Lord Morley to accept the suggestion that the Committee of Council should receive a deputation from the States after the holidays at which representatives of the Catholic Schools should also be present.

The question turns upon the extent to which the Catholic community, in transferring their schools to the States on undenominational lines, shall have secured to them a direct influence on the selection of teachers, so as to ensure fitting instruction during the hours reserved for special religious teaching. Lord Morley told me he was quite ready, if I thought fit, to fight the matter in the Cabinet, where, however, he might be beaten; but it seemed to me on the whole better to accept McKenna's suggestion, particularly as the States of Jersey had already asked for something of the kind and had gone so far as to appoint a delegation for the purpose. The delay it involved was also, in my judgment, one method of reprisal on Vernon for his tortuous policy. I told Lord Morley of the family connection, upon which, with his inimitable ironic smile, he remarked, "It will not be

the first time I have encountered the talent for intrigue of a member of that family" ; and then he reverted to the days of the early Home Rule Bills, when he and Mr. Gladstone suffered at the hands of Sir W. Vernon Harcourt. On one occasion Mr. Gladstone, having "ingeminated" the word "discipline," Lord Morley asked whether he did not think the moment had come for them to subject Harcourt to its rigorous application; but Mr. Gladstone only shook his head in despondent scepticism.

*August 2nd.*—I dined with Cis Butler at the Goring Hotel and took her to see "Hindle Wakes," one of the sincerest representations of character I have ever known on the English stage. It was not acting, but life, and we were both immensely impressed. Her mind is full of depths of understanding; such, too, as provide a curiously accurate criterion of values in relation to both literature and life. She told me that Lord Mountgarret's illness is reaching a very serious pitch, which can only have one issue.

*August 4th.*—The Sunday before the August Bank Holiday is not a day on which one looks to see many prominent people in London, but I was overtaken in the Buckingham Palace Road this afternoon by Buckle, and walked with him to the Athenæum. He preserved strict silence upon his retirement from the Editorial Chair, which I heard a few days ago was imminent, but on other topics let himself go with customary fluency. He appeared to attach much importance to the threats of Ulster. The series of articles on the subject published in "The Times" at the beginning of the year were, it seems, from the pen of Monypenny, who had been commissioned by "The Times" to investigate the question, and reached the conclusion that there was no length to which the north-east counties were not prepared to go in resistance to Home Rule. He admitted, however, that their earnestness was intended to have a present effect, and that in the event of its not arousing the expected response in this country, the miscalculation might have to be reckoned with and the attitude revised. He told me that, when Haldane was in Berlin, he was taken by the Emperor into the State Council-chamber, where the Imperial Chair dominates from a high dais the seats occupied by Ministers in Council. Upon this chair the Emperor placed his guest, and, seating himself below, engaged in a conversation of two hours' duration.

Buckle offered the most unstinted homage to the breadth and discernment of Lord Morley's political outlook; such *aperçus* of the higher mind of the Government as were procurable came to him almost entirely through that medium, and he could not be grateful enough to him for his constant contribution to the maintenance of political thought on the finest possible plane.

*August 6th.*—Lord Morley gave me the most unqualified contradiction of the rumour that he was about to retire. He

had, it is true, placed his office at the disposal of the Prime Minister, who wishes him to retain it. He has the good sense to realise that the Government has no stronger asset than the hold which Lord Morley possesses upon the sober and instructed judgment of the country.

I had luncheon with Beauchamp, whom I had not seen since his return from Berlin, where it appears the Institute of Public Health were received with the greatest courtesy: a remarkable feature of the banquet given by the Civic authorities of the city was the singing of "Rule Britannia" by the Germans present.

Beauchamp told me Pom McDonnell's heart was in such a critical state that his retirement was only a question of a few weeks. Lionel Earle was his destined successor, an appointment in every respect suitable.

*September 30th.*—I returned from the north after four visits, at Monreith, Cumloden, Levens, and Duncombe Park. The beauty of Levens reconquered all its hold upon my imagination.

*October 2nd.*—The anticipation of war is general in well-informed circles: indeed, so convinced is Arthur Nicolson of its imminence that he advises me to be prepared to go to Balmoral, notwithstanding that the King will be in London the middle of next week, which I had ventured to hope would be early enough for a Proclamation of Neutrality. He describes the Balkan States as so many wild cats on the spring, and Turkey as resolute to go no further in the grant of autonomies, which were merely another name for progressive spoliation.

On returning from luncheon we met Lord Roberts coming out of the Athenæum, and stopped to tender him our congratulations.[1] He mentioned that he had had no less than 230 telegrams. He was very concerned at the state of things in the East in so far as it might affect India, and, on my pressing the point, declared that the feeling of the Moslem inhabitants towards the Khalif had never been stronger, and was quite different from the apathy which prevailed when he was there thirty years ago. Arthur Nicolson confirmed this, and said that not a despatch reached London from Calcutta in which Hardinge did not lay stress upon the point.

Lionel Earle tells me there is a hitch about his succession, as the King had had Basil Blackwood's claims strongly put forward by Pom himself, while the Treasury think it an occasion for putting in one of themselves. The question will not be settled until the King's return south a week hence, but I should think the ministerial backing he enjoys will carry Lionel Earle through.

*October 7th.*—Lord Morley, who returned from Balmoral for the Cabinet, was in the best of health and spirits. His gleanings of the impression produced there by some of his colleagues were

[1] On his eightieth birthday.

interesting. McKinnon Wood did not go down at all; the L.C.C. does not manufacture courtiers. Samuel, on the contrary, conquered general esteem, the suppleness of his race no doubt assisting; but Simon, the Solicitor-General, enjoyed the greatest favour, everyone speaking well of him.

The King, who had told Francis Hopwood a week or two before that he did not get much help from his Ministers, seems to have unburdened himself to Lord Morley. In the course of their discussions His Majesty pleased him greatly by observing that he looked upon him as the only representative of the old Whigs left in the Cabinet, and certainly, in so far as Whiggism is an attitude of mind, His Majesty's judgment was not wanting in acuteness. Sound Whig doctrine is perfect fearlessness in the face of popular demands, combined with the capacity to weigh them in the scales of justice and moderation.

*October* 11*th*.—Council this morning at 11. Lords Morley, Beauchamp, Sandhurst, and Knollys were present. At the last moment yesterday the Foreign Office decided that, so long as Montenegro was the only combatant, a Proclamation of Neutrality was unnecessary, in communicating which to Knollys I pointed out that a Council next week, while the King is at Sandringham, might be unavoidable; but after the Council His Majesty detained me to say that in no case was Lord Morley to be allowed to undertake the journey to Sandringham. On our way Lord Morley allowed me to see that he was pleased with this mark of His Majesty's consideration.

I saw Arthur Nicolson at luncheon and pressed upon him my view that the object of a Proclamation was not the enforcement of the law, but to inform the public of their obligations and liabilities when a state of war arose, the Foreign Office appearing to think that it was an indispensable preliminary to setting in motion the provisions of the Foreign Enlistment Act. Later he sent his Private Secretary, Onslow, to see me on the subject, and I wrote explaining our point of view with an illustration from the "Encyclopædia of the Laws of England," upon the policy and effect of such Proclamations. The Foreign Office still seem to think that their hands are tied until a Proclamation is issued, whereas I told them that their executive powers under the Act are exerciseable just as freely before the issue as afterwards, as soon as a state of war exists, of which the Proclamation is evidence for what it is worth.

*October* 14*th*.—The Foreign Office now admit that the value of the Proclamation is largely a matter of practice and convenience; the commercial classes, whom it affects, look to it for guidance and definition, and its prompt publication is advocated, not upon considerations of law, but of policy: a point of view to which no exception need be taken. Lord Morley saw

Sir E. Grey at twelve, and was satisfied that there was no occasion to trouble him on the subject. Lord Morley was deeply concerned at Richmond Ritchie's death, and said Crewe wished to consult him as to the succession. The assistant secretary, one Lionel Abrahams, is impossible: with one Jew Parliamentary Under-Secretary, the claims of another to the permanent secretaryship are obviously inadmissible. Sir A. Hirtzel was, in Lord Morley's opinion, the best man for the place, though he had also a strong feeling in favour of Sir A. Holderness. We looked up their respective ages, and, on finding the last-named was sixty-three, I urged the inexpedience of appointing any man over sixty to a new sphere of responsibility unless there were overwhelming reasons for such a step, and that I believed had been the practice of Lord Lansdowne when at the War Office. Lord Morley was curious to know why, and I explained to him my reasons, laying stress upon the operation of the present rule on retirement, which limited the subject of such an appointment to a very brief authority, neither good for him nor the Office; and he at once admitted that I had knocked Sir A. Holderness out. Hirtzel was his Private Secretary at the India Office, and had a great Oxford reputation. He is, moreover, at the best period of his life, about forty-three.

*October* 31*st*.—Having been placed on the Sub-committee of the C.I.D. for the consideration of the action of Public Departments before and after a Declaration of War, I attended a meeting this morning, and at the request of the chairman (Sir A. Nicolson), laid before the Committee a carefully drawn statement of the respective methods by which we proceed, either by Order in Council or Proclamation, in order to give each publicity. It came as a surprise to most members of the Committee that action, when war is imminent, must be preceded by a message to Parliament or a Declaration in Council, if Parliament is not sitting, that a case of great emergency has arisen. I was much struck with the clearness and precision with which Crowe, of the Foreign Office, practically conducted the business of the Committee.

*November* 1*st*.—The sweeping victories of the Allies in the Balkans have entirely falsified official anticipations. As late as Wednesday it was believed here that the Turks might recover themselves, but all the private advices which have reached the Foreign Office this morning confirm the completeness of the *débâcle*. The fear now is that the lines of Tchataldja may not be held and that Constantinople will be delivered over to the leaders of a furious horde of beaten soldiery.

*November* 5*th*.—I saw Newton at the Travellers', who was in Constantinople three weeks ago, where he was the only person who had ventured to predict the overthrow of the Turks. Signs

of inceptitude and incapacity were in his judgment universal, but the inbred conviction that the Turk is a fine fighting animal appears to have outweighed all the evidence that was to be had for his lack of preparation and the elements of organisation. It was pitiful, in the light of later events, for him to recall the aspect of the conscripts he saw torn from their homes in Asia Minor; docile, brave and temperate, but with no pretension to military training, and commanded by less than half the proper complement of officers.

*November 6th.*—I had luncheon with Lady Bristol in Brook Street. The Pretymans, Claude Phillips, and Miss Edith Drummond were there. Something in Lady Bristol diffuses an innate distinction, which gives to the handful of people she collects a touch of "the unbought grace of life."

*November 7th.*—By the desire of Lord Morley I had a conference with the representatives of the Privileged Presses (the Dean of Christ Church, Oxford, the Provost of King's, Cambridge, and the King's Printer) relative to the position of the Table of Affinity since the passing of the Deceased Wife's Sister's Act. With every disposition to do what they ought, they were evidently very nervous about the consequences of any step they might take, and quite resolved not to act without instructions. The Law Officers (one a Jew and the other a Nonconformist) have held that it was their duty, on the Act coming into operation, either to delete the prohibition which was contrary to the new statute, or to have omitted the Table from the Prayer Book, and they held that the privileges secured to the Presses by Letters Patent were placed in danger by their not doing so. My instructions did not go farther than to feel the pulse of the parties, but, in the discussion of the alternatives I put before them, it became clear that no course was now open which would not create friction. It was, however, admitted that something ought to be done, and the Dean of Christ Church, who conducted the case on behalf of his colleagues, made one or two suggestions that may bear fruit. We were all agreed that it was not a question which should be flung on the floor of Convocation.

*November 11th.*—Lord Morley spoke this morning with great gravity of the European situation and the possible crystallisation of irreconcilable purpose on the part of the two groups of Powers. He fully recognised our difficulty if in the last resort we failed to support Russia and France, though, to apply Bismarck's famous remark about the bones of a Pomeranian Grenadier, he did not think the issue worth to us the body of one Territorial. He intimated that he at least would be no party to war arising out of such a situation, unless circumstances gave a provocativeness to the action of the Triple Alliance which he did not anticipate.

We discussed the modes by which the problem of the Table

of Affinity might be treated, and I found him disposed to take the most direct, not to say peremptory course, and call for the deletion of the particular prohibition, careless of any merely technical or superficial objection.

News reached me early this afternoon that the Government had been beaten by twenty-two in the House of Commons: an event which, however it may be explained, is likely to have far-reaching consequences.

*November 12th.*—I had a brief interview with Lloyd George, to consider the Sheriffs' list, before the Cabinet hurriedly called to rearrange the plans so rudely mangled the night before. The theory of a snap division hardly fits an occasion when some 450 members went into the lobby, and there is, moreover, as I heard from good authority on the Opposition side, no excuse for attributing the misfortune to trick. Telegrams were sent out asking men to be there at 4.15; they mustered, and the Government had not the requisite force at hand. The fact is, Ministers are suffering, and must continue to suffer, from the undue strain their system of management places upon the physical resources of their supporters.

Willingdon offended his leaders last night by not voting upon an amendment of the Agricultural Holdings Bill, which was carried against them by nine.

*November 14th.*—Yesterday's scenes of turbulence in the House of Commons led to another Cabinet this morning, which caused a delay in the opening of the conference between the Committee of the Privy Council and the representatives of the States of Jersey, in connection with the amendment of their Education Bill to meet the objections of the Catholics. Before the Cabinet Lord Morley told me in his opinion the Speaker ought to appeal to the Opposition not to make his position untenable by renewed disorder. We then went through the points of the Jersey controversy, and I found that he had taken the most scrupulous care to master the contents of my Memo. on the subject. The Lord President, Beauchamp, McKenna, Pease, and L. C. B. Palles constituted the Committee, and it was no small achievement that so composite a body should have reached a common conclusion on a topic so fruitful in conflict.

Vernon's attitude before proceedings began excited my apprehension that he would adopt an unconciliatory and pragmatical tone, but I put to him very strongly my view of the course which should be followed, looking to the *genesis* of the dispute, and the point at which we then stood. In the end he acted with great judgment and circumspection, enabling Lord Morley, by the presentation of one or two alternatives, to draw from him a draft modification of the clause which the Catholics could accept.

Lord Morley managed the Conference with consummate

tact; McKenna was very judicious, and Pease exhibited a spirit of reason which I had hardly expected from the *virus* which possessed his Department. Before the Conference I had some conversation with the Secretary, who could give no intelligible grounds for the Board's scruples, and was inclined to resent with rudeness any attempt to enlighten his ignorance on the constitutional relations between the States of Jersey and the King in Council.

Walking up to luncheon at the Travellers' with Beauchamp, I told him I should have dealt with the situation created by the defeat of the Government in a totally different way. Though condemning the violence of the Opposition, I could understand their resentment against being made the scapegoat of the Government's own carelessness. In my judgment, the Prime Minister would have consulted his own dignity and marked the episode with appropriate emphasis if he had dismissed the whole of the Whips' room, dropped the Home Rule Bill, brought the Session to an end as speedily as possible, and announced his intention to reintroduce the Bill when the House met for a new Session in January.

I hear there was one important member of the Cabinet who advocated an immediate dissolution.

*November 18th.*—It appears the Speaker informed the Prime Minister he would resign if the original plan of the Government was adhered to, and Ministers were thus left with no choice. In their present shaken condition the moral effect of such an incident would have been too serious. It is certainly to be regretted that, at a moment when the Government may have to appeal to a united nation upon grave issues abroad, they should have chosen to exasperate the Opposition for objects which lend themselves to the belief that they are prepared to sacrifice every parliamentary tradition to the importance of keeping Mr. Redmond in good humour.

*November 25th.*—The difficulty in regard to the Table of Affinity is likely to become more acute, owing to the reluctance of the Archbishop to grasp the nettle. He saw Lord Morley at the British Museum on Saturday, and warned him that any attempt to tamper with the Table would be very strongly resented. He suggested, however, the addition of some explanatory notes, which, without raising a direct issue, might be accepted for the accuracy of the information they conveyed. Lord Morley has now sent for his personal consideration the Law Officers' opinion, and the draft letter I have prepared to give effect to the Government's wishes on the subject.

Lord Morley was concerned about the situation in the Balkans, which he described as serious, but not, as yet, threatening. He bore testimony to the frankness of the communications that were

passing between the Powers, and said very emphatically, "So far nothing could have been better than the conduct of both Russia and Austria."

*December 2nd.*—Speyer and some of his racial kinsfolk were discussing the prospects of European war, when one said to the other, "It will be a terrible thing if we English go to war with us Germans."

*December 6th.*—Morant saw me to-day upon the administration of Maternity Benefit under the amendment that was put into the Insurance Act at the last moment, unhappily not in the terms best adapted to facilitate the task of the Commissioners. According to him, Lloyd George and Masterman care nothing for the economic soundness of the Act or the hygienic efficiency of its administration; they are only concerned with the political effect of presenting the benefit in the form of a cash bonus upon every child born. Placards and posters illustrating this idea have been poured forth from the Liberal publishing agency, and fathers of families are already discounting the advantages they will draw from their wives' confinement after January 14th. There are now five weeks for the preparation of the rules regulating benefit, and they are not yet in draft, owing to the way in which these Ministers have hampered the action of the Commissioners with a view to extracting the full measure of party capital out of the Act. Its shortcomings and complications have made the problem almost insoluble, and to these obstacles is added the determination to work its provisions as part and parcel of the stock-in-trade of the politician to whom it owes its origin. Morant foresees between the middle of January and the end of February a far more formidable outbreak of discontent than any the Act has yet encountered.

Dined with the Anstruther-Grays: the Ninian Stuarts, Agnews, H. Forsters, and Studds. I took Mrs. Forster in to dinner. There is about her a sweet reasonableness, a perfect equipoise of mind and manner, a golden nimbus of serene wisdom which lends enchantment to all she says.

Mrs. Murray Gartshore, my father's first-cousin, completed her hundredth year this day, within a week of the centenary of the Beresina. In reply to a letter of congratulation she said, "I was born with the downfall of Napoleon, and I have lived to see the downfall of the Turk." She is the granddaughter of the third Duke of Grafton, born 1735, so that, if she lives to 1915, two lives will have touched 180 consecutive years!

*December 9th.*—News reached us that Molly Jolliffe died[1] this morning after an operation for appendicitis. When fate overtakes the very young (she was only fifteen), with all life's opportunities about to expand, the lot which removes them

[1] Daughter of Lord and Lady Hylton.

appears most ruthless. A flower nipped in the bud, an interrupted song, a beautiful thought silent upon the lips—all these are figures their end suggests; but, looking upon life as a whole and summing up its dire possibilities, who shall say that they are not taken away from the evil to come? It is those who mourn them to whom our hearts go out; theirs the pang, and for them, through all their sentient days, the shrouded walk in the haunted garden of the heart.

*December* 16*th*.—Council this morning at eleven. Lord Morley, Sandhurst, Strachie, and F. Hopwood attended, and Sir Conyngham Greene, Ambassador at Tokio, was sworn.

Lord Morley found the King very disturbed lest the new President of the United States should send Mr. Bryan as Ambassador to this Court, and it was agreed that Bryce should unofficially be dropped a hint such an appointment would be unacceptable. Lord Morley thinks very little of Bryan, seeing that, upon three weeks' acquaintance with India, he presumed to tell him, when Secretary of State, how to govern the country.

Lord Morley had spent Sunday at Hackwood. The Duchess of Marlborough, in her present rôle of "Blue-stocking," had sat between him and Arthur Balfour at dinner, and played up to the part with some success. Curzon he described as an admirable host, very well, but greatly depressed as to the prospects of the Tory Party regaining office. Lord Morley was not so despondent, and did his best to comfort him with the assurance that they would have a good chance in a year's time. He (Curzon) made no secret of his conviction that Tariff Reform was the obstacle.

*December* 18*th*.—The King has found firm foothold from which to administer a rebuff to a self-willed Minister. It was proposed to give one of the new battleships the name of "Oliver Cromwell," and, although Winston Churchill devoted himself to arguing the point at great length, His Majesty was obdurate, and the Protector will not appear in the muster-roll of naval fame. The Dutch Wars of the Commonwealth are already commemorated in the great name of Blake, and there was therefore no particular reason to drag in that of Cromwell. The King's objection was perhaps natural enough, even if such prejudices have little actuality to many at the present day, but H.M.S. "Oliver Cromwell" would have read somewhat strangely, and it is better avoided.

I discovered this morning that an obscure Scottish Member had blocked our modest and entirely uncontroversial Bill for effecting a needful change in the method of electing the direct representatives upon the General Medical Council. The offence is aggravated by his being Private Secretary of a member of the Cabinet, McKinnon Wood. No more unpardonable breach of ministerial comity could indeed be perpetrated than for a member of the Secretariat of one Minister to block a Bill for which

another was responsible. On speaking to Lord Morley, he was full of righteous wrath, and announced his intention of writing to McKinnon Wood this afternoon. Upon my suggesting that a day or two's delay would not matter, he exclaimed, "Let us crush the viper at once!"

*December* 19*th*.—The Tory Party is rent in twain; whereas Bonar Law's speech at Ashton was expected to give it a formula on which it could unite, it has had the effect of spreading dissensions. No Opposition leader now makes a speech without giving the lie to one of his colleagues, not infrequently to himself, and their followers are at sixes and sevens. As if this was not enough, organised Labour is exasperated by the declaration that trade unionist leaders were out of place in Parliament, having neither the leisure nor the competence to be statesmen.

*December* 20*th*.—Lord Morley indulged in some interesting reminiscences of Mr. Chamberlain in his Radical days. His Radicalism, he said, was always of the *autoritaire* type, impatient of control and at times frankly belligerent. His Free-trade convictions, even in those days, were, he thought, only skin-deep and largely due to departmental association with so strong a man as the late Lord Farrer. *Au fond*, he looked at the problem from the manufacturer's point of view, which welcomes a tariff as an instrument of monopoly: indeed, in his own business he effected a transaction with American producers in the nature of a commercial treaty, whereby he accepted a subsidy in return for an engagement not to introduce his screws into the United States.

Another curious personal trait was the regret he always avowed at having given up business for politics, declaring that there was no excitement to equal the direction of great manufacturing enterprises.

## 1913

*January* 1*st*.—The New Year's honours, at least in their higher branches, have been regulated by strict economy. Two Peerages and two Privy Councillorships, the latter, Desart and Simon, all that could be desired. Sir G. Clarke's Peerage led Lord Morley to some observations on his career at Bombay, for which he was responsible. It appears that it was marred by displays of vainglory which had reached such a pitch when Minto came home that he had persuaded himself his claims to the succession could not be overlooked. On Lord Morley writing to him, in the most considerate terms, to explain that it was impracticable, he never took the trouble to answer his letter. "I then let him drop," he continued, "but apparently somebody else has taken him up." Some of his other appointments had

failed to give him any greater satisfaction, notably that of Clark, Lloyd George's Private Secretary, who went out as Commercial Member of the Supreme Council. That, Lord Morley said very frankly, was an appointment which opinion in India was quite justified in criticising, but at the time it seemed to him necessary to introduce new blood into the Council, and George Murray, whom he consulted, pressed Clark upon his notice. Lloyd George had nothing whatever to do with it.

Nicolson tells me there are now good prospects of the parties to the Conference coming to terms. Turkey is at last nearing the conviction that she can obtain nothing by the renewal of hostilities, and the Powers have made it plain to her that she will lose by obduracy.

*January 8th.*—The plight of the Unionist Party is pitiable. At one end are the uncompromising advocates of Protection, who have at least a faith, and at the other the convinced adherents of Free Trade, and between a fluctuating mass of unsettled opinion ready to crystallise in any mould which offers promise of success at the polls. A close scrutiny of the impulses governing these reveals the desire to discover at all costs some way out of the mess, and to this end they are at the mercy of speculative politicians and sensational journalists. Never did a great political party reach such a pitch of sombre and sordid anarchy.

*January 14th.*—We dined last night with the Raj Rana Jhalawar, who is leaving England in a few days. Some 130 guests who were regaled after dinner with some Indian love-songs, rendered in a most lugubrious monotone. Our host, in responding to the toast of his health, gave an interesting exposition of his ideas of feudatory loyalty, claiming for the great body of Indian opinion a warm acceptance of the advantages India derived from British rule. It is not a little curious, in this connection, that the result of the elections to the newly established Councils, reported in the paper this morning, have proved almost uniformly on the side of moderation, and Lord Morley, in expressing his pleasure at such a vindication of his hopes, ventured to ask whether a similar surprise might not be awaiting the prophets of evil when the first elections to the Home Rule Parliament took place.

Arthur Nicolson has heard from his son, who was on the elephant immediately preceding the Viceroy, an account of the Delhi outrage. He was suddenly startled by a loud report, and, on looking back, saw a cloud of sulphurous smoke rising from the howdah, from which emerged Hardinge's signal that the procession was to proceed. When, however, they perceived the driver of the elephant hanging out over one side, while the bearer of the umbrella had disappeared, and the Viceroy pale as death and evidently on the verge of collapse, a halt was called, and under the greatest difficulty, with such appliances as were at their

disposal, Hardinge was taken down. The letter bore the highest testimony to the courage displayed by Lady Hardinge.

*January 24th.*—The disorganisation of Government, following upon the slackness in handling the suffrage problem, proceeds apace. The threats of the women of what they will do in the event of their hopes being disappointed have reached such a pitch that, in Lord Morley's opinion, valuable lives are in positive danger. I learn that at a meeting of the extreme section, summoned to consider what steps should be taken upon the defeat of their amendments, one present was so horrified and appalled by the announcement of their intentions that he went straight to Scotland Yard and placed the information in the hands of the police.

On my way to luncheon I met Edward Cadogan, the Speaker's Secretary, who told me he was arranging with the Commissioners for his chief being shadowed on his morning walks, his declaration last night having fanned the flames of feminine discontent to no ordinary degree.

*January 25th.*—We had luncheon with the Lord Chancellor and Miss Haldane, Lady Vera Herbert making a fifth. I told Haldane that I had heard of the Speaker's danger, which he thought was very likely to be the case. His comments on Harcourt's speech were couched in a humorous and good-natured vein, but he allowed me to see that it had excited great exasperation in certain quarters; the references to the Chancellor of the Exchequer had been almost contemptuous in their suggestions of his want of candour and dignity.

*January 27th.*—I had some conversation with Lord Morley before the Cabinet summoned this morning to treat the critical situation in which Ministers find themselves. As an old parliamentarian, he was shocked at the decay of Cabinet discipline, when one Minister on the floor of the House of Commons could attack two of his colleagues with studied malice. When the Cabinet met on Friday afternoon he was not aware of what had passed in the House, and only remarked that Harcourt was feverish and excited.

Years ago, he said, he had voted against female suffrage at the request of Mr. Gladstone, and was prepared now, "though I am a friend, but a torpid one," he interpolated, "to throw the women to the dogs if that part of the Franchise Bill abolishing the plural vote, could be saved. The only difficulty he foresaw was the attitude of Sir E. Grey, a man the Government could not afford to lose, according to whose declaration the enfranchisement of 2,000,000 men without adding a single woman would involve his resignation. Lord Morley was inclined to think, in the last resort, he might not press a scruple to the point of overthrowing the Government, but there was no saying that his

firmness would not prove unshakable. In regard to the difficulty created by the Prime Minister's pledge,[1] he declared it was not given with the knowledge of the Cabinet, and proceeded: "Fancy, if Mr. Gladstone had been in such a hole, he would have turned with anger on his critics: 'Have you read the terms of this so-called pledge?' and then some words in ambush would have leapt out, and, so conditioned, it would have been seen that there was no pledge that could be fitted to the circumstances. But," he concluded despondingly, "Asquith cannot do these things." In his judgment they ought not, moreover, to withdraw the Bill until some answer was made to Austen Chamberlain's admirable speech, not to speak of Harcourt's, fatal to Cabinet harmony as notice of that might prove. In the result the Cabinet decided to announce the withdrawal of the Bill as soon as the House met, from which it is clear that Sir E. Grey maintained the position Lord Morley feared he might take, and I am not surprised, as, with him, I have always thought woman's suffrage was a debt he owed to a memory. The safety of Ministers was another subject of discussion, for the Chief Commissioner of Police had asked them all to proceed to Westminster in vehicles. Notwithstanding this, Lord Morley started to walk, though McKenna had warned him his sympathy for the cause would not save him. Winston asked whether it had been considered what chance a revolver-shot fired through the *grille* might have of lodging in a Minister's breast. Some Tory, who had been told of this risk, said, "I hope they will be allowed to choose their Minister."

*February 3rd.*—Lord Morley had some interesting comments on the Home Rule debate. The best speeches he heard were those of Lord St. Aldwyn, Curzon, and the Archbishop of York, while Haldane told him Killanin's was the most brilliant of the lot. Lord St. Aldwyn pointed at him across the table, invoking a declaration that he adhered to his opinion in favour of the total exclusion of the Irish members from Westminster. "I hold to it most strongly," he said to me, "but, of course, I could not answer the challenge." His own speech was delivered by a tired man to a House expecting the division, and was imperfectly heard. He went on to talk to me of the days when he was Chief Secretary, and mentioned the kindness he had received from the Waterfords at a time when the "Castle" was boycotted. Lady Waterford he described, not undeservedly, as "a saint."

*February 11th.*—Council this morning at 11.30, *inter alia*, for the reference to the Judicial Committee of the question involved in the report of the Select Committee on Sir S. Samuel's seat. Desart and the Solicitor-General had to be sworn in, and I had asked Rufus Isaacs to be present, to mark the unprecedented

[1] An assurance that the House should have time for the consideration of the matter.

circumstance of both Law Officers being members of the Privy Council. I was disappointed in Simon, of whose distinction and charm I had heard so much. His abilities are no doubt as great as people say, but he was devoid of the magnetism I had expected.

We had a dinner in the evening: George Peel and Lady Agnes, Sir Matthew Nathan, Ulrica Baring, Dosia Bagot, C. H. Montgomery, Burdett-Coutts, Mrs. Noble, and Bill Duncombe. Nathan proved a distinct asset, and Ulrica Baring, whom he took in to dinner, was quite interested.

*February 12th.*—Beauchamp's speech in moving the second reading of the Welsh Church Bill was a great success, and, according to Lord Morley, placed him in the first rank. Lord Morley also spoke very highly of the Bishop of St. Asaph's effort. He took him back to the Athenæum afterwards, and conveyed to him his warm personal congratulations.

*March 1st.*—Dined at Buckingham Palace last night. There were some forty-five present. The dinner was excellent, but suffered from being pushed through at too great speed. Three Ministers, Lord Morley, Crewe, and Harcourt, were there, and three Heads of Legation, Wrangel, Dominguez, and the new Danish Minister. In talking to the King I mentioned the subject of the Royal Assent to Prince Ernest of Cumberland's marriage contract. I had previously spoken to Stamfordham, who had prepared the way by giving His Majesty some account of recent precedent. I found him very disinclined to do anything. At the back of his mind there appeared to linger the suspicion that his Imperial cousin might regard it as a derogation from his dignity if any consent of God or man were required for his daughter's marriage. I pointed out, however, that it was the position of the Duke of Cumberland as a Prince of Great Britain that was involved, and the obligations that he owed to the King. On the whole, His Majesty was so far impressed as to order me to speak to Granville, who was going back to Berlin on Tuesday, with a view to the suggestion of some means whereby the matter might be set in motion.

I found Granville in conversation with Harcourt, and put the matter before them, Crewe joining in the discussion. They all agreed that, under the terms of the Act, and particularly in view of the precedent affecting the same family in 1900 and 1904, when the Duke's daughters were married, the procedure customary in such cases could hardly be overlooked, though the susceptibilities concerned required delicate handling. It was curious that the Duke of Cumberland had not taken the initiative, as he had done in 1904, by writing to King Edward; but Granville reminded us that in those days his antagonism towards the German Emperor was still acute, and he had reasons for magnifying his connection with the Royal House of Great Britain, which is now

of less importance. Finally, Granville proposed that Acton, who is Chargé d'Affaires at Baden, and consequently in close touch with Prince Ernest's sisters, might see his way to some useful intervention, and, as he succeeds Granville as Lord-in-Waiting next week, an opportunity would arise for putting the matter before him. He promised, moreover, to enter upon the subject with Acton, so that, when I see him at the ensuing Council, he will be duly primed.

I met Stamfordham in the street this morning and told him what had passed. He clearly thinks that it would be a mistake if any scruple prevented His Majesty asserting his position as the Head of the Royal House of which the Duke of Cumberland was a member.

*March 7th.*—In connection with the Council to-day the unprecedented step was taken of submitting two speeches for the King's approval: a very brief one for the prorogation and a somewhat prolix narrative principally occupied with foreign affairs, as an introduction to the new Session. The Lord President, Crewe, Granard, and Sandhurst attended. I talked to Acton about the Cumberland marriage, and settled that no further move should be made until I had seen the Lord Chancellor on the subject. Cecil Spring-Rice and Parker, the new Lord of Appeal, were sworn in: they had been at school together and had not met again until this moment.

*March 12th.*—I had a conference with Haldane on the King's obligation under the Royal Marriages Act in regard to Prince Ernest of Cumberland's marriage. He agreed that the King's consent was required, in order to avoid any awkwardness in the event of the pair ever visiting England, and also to save any contingent rights of succession, and thought that, in the event of the Duke of Cumberland taking no action, some delicate hint should be conveyed to him through the ordinary diplomatic channels. He asked me to ascertain from the Foreign Office whether there had been any renunciation of the Empress Frederick's rights at the date of her marriage. Subsequently I saw Beauchamp, and obtained his adhesion to a report of the Baronets Committee in favour of Sir Anthony Cope's claim, to which the Lord President and McKenna have already subscribed. A hearing will now be dispensed with, and Sir A. Cope's name entered on the Roll.

*March 13th.*—We heard from the Foreign Office that the Duke of Cumberland had made application for the King's consent to his son's contract of matrimony, which obviates any further difficulty. In reference to Haldane's enquiry, they sent me the copy of a letter addressed by Lord Rosebery, when Secretary of State, to Queen Victoria, dealing with certain questions which had arisen in connection with the marriage of the Crown Princess

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of Roumania, wherein this passage occurred: "The possible union of crowns has never, Lord Rosebery thinks, operated as a bar to marriage. There is notably the case of the Empress Frederick, through whom the British and German Empires might become united, a conception so portentous that the dominion of Charles V would seem comparatively insignificant beside it."

*March 15th.*—Last night was devoted to the Lord President's dinner for settling the Roll of Sheriffs, which was held at the Carlton Hotel. We were eighteen in number, including Haldane, McKenna, Lloyd George, and Birrell. I sat between Pease and Hobhouse, which was pleasant enough. In addition to the customary *invités* Lord Morley had, at my suggestion, asked Knollys, who came very gladly. The invitation was, I believe, particularly grateful to him, coinciding, as it did, with his retirement from the position of the King's Secretary. He has told me he will always be ready to attend Councils, and will thus be able to keep up his connection with the formal apparatus of Government.

Later in the evening I went to Lady Brassey's party of farewell to the Willingdons.

*March 17th.*—After service yesterday at Lincoln's Inn I went into the Hall, where I was interested in observing that Lord Morley had placed his arms, which do not appear in the books of reference. The punning motto, "S'ils te mordent, mords-les," though scarcely breathing a philosophic spirit, is not uncharacteristic of the man and politician, but it is not a little curious that he should be so ready to make this piece of self-revelation.

It was reported in the papers this morning that Mr. Bryan, speaking at an Irish-American gathering, referred to the "degradation of the House of Lords which has overtaken them for their opposition to Home Rule," and added, "The Irish can point to this as one of the greatest achievements in their history, having brought to a virtual end hereditary rule in the British Empire." Lord Morley commented with great severity on the extreme impropriety of the Secretary of State of a friendly nation using such language, and thought the King would be justified in viewing it with the strongest indignation. Indeed, his language was so emphatic that I realised the force of Lord Acton's remark, "There is a Conservative inside him."

An hour before the Council Hobhouse telegraphed from the country to say he was laid up with lumbago. By great good luck, I was able to lay hands on Samuel, who, as an ex-Chancellor of the Duchy, was the proper person, in the other's absence, to submit the list of Sheriffs for Lancashire. Knollys and Stamfordham completed the quorum. The Declaration of Assent was given to the contract of matrimony between Prince Ernest and the Kaiser's daughter, and I submitted the formal documents required to give effect to it for the King's signature.

*March 18th.*—I understand the Judicial Committee will pronounce that Sir S. Samuel has forfeited his seat, a decision which will involve him in a fine of £46,000 when the action by the Common Informer comes on. There was at first some chance of the Court being divided, Lord Loreburn and Lord Halsbury being for the avoidance, while Haldane and Dunedin inclined to the other view. However, after Finlay's reply on Monday, when Dunedin, as Junior Member of the Court, was asked for his opinion, it was given against Samuel, and the rest followed suit.

*April 7th.*—I returned to London after a fortnight divided between Rushmore, Sidmouth, and Frogmore. The impression gathered from candid minds goes to confirm the belief that the gravest blunder was committed by Ministers in touching American Marconis. Lloyd George's violent repudiation of anything in the shape of a gamble has not improved his case.

*April 11th.*—A Council to-day has been arranged in my absence for the King's directions upon the Report of the Judicial Committee in the case of Sir S. Samuel. I have preserved a copy of the letter Lord Morley wrote to Stamfordham, as it illustrates his scrupulous care to consult the King's susceptibilities and to avoid the least semblance of treating him as part of the machine without will or initiative. According to the arrangements indicated, the Judicial Committee met at 10.30, Lord Morley presiding for the pronouncement of the opinion, supported by the statement of reasons, which had been prepared by Lord Loreburn. The secret had been well kept, and considerable public interest was manifested in the decision, which the Lord Chancellor took about twelve minutes in delivering.

The Council was attended by Lord Morley, Sandhurst, Allendale, and J. Pease, Lord Morley taking the opportunity of his audience to communicate what had passed in the Court to the King.

Lord Morley, on our way back, told me Arthur Balfour had been present at yesterday's meeting of the Special Committee of the C.I.D., and brought to the discussion those qualities of rapid grasp and luminous insight which quicken and adorn his thought. I said few minds were so highly trained. "Yes," he replied, "he can lay his hands instantly on what he wants." With him, it is true, scientific acuteness and philosophic reflection are the carefully adjusted complement of each other. Lord Morley added a glowing tribute to his persuasiveness and personal charm.

*April 22nd.*—The petition of Mr. Crill in the matter of his election as a Jurat of the Royal Court of Jersey, was heard by the Privy Council (Lord Morley, McKenna, Desart and Sir R. Romer), and a decision recorded in his favour. There was, indeed, little to sway the Committee against him, except the vehement feeling

which his election has excited among the "notables" of the Island. Desart, as I had expected, proved of great use to the Court, as there are few in this country so familiar with the law and practice of the Channel Islands.

*April 28th.*—I saw Mrs. F. Bentinck patrolling Whitehall as a sandwich woman with placards fore and aft, appealing to Englishmen whether they wished women to die rather than have the vote, ignoring with some want of logic that it was a point which it lay with the women themselves to determine. The Prime Minister, accompanied by John Burns and myself, received a deputation at the House of Commons from the bodies interested in promoting what is called the State Registration of Nurses, though what they really ask for is State recognition of a system of self-registration. Of the ladies present, Lady Helen Munro Ferguson made much the best speech, but, in the present state of public opinion on the subject, the Prime Minister did not feel himself able to do more than give platonic assurances of sympathy, so far as the case presented to him went. The question is really one for compromise, and the admission on either side that the hopes of the one and the apprehensions of the other are excessive.

Beauchamp told me at luncheon that George Peel had definitively joined the Liberal Party, and was at the moment with the Prime Minister, in order to confer with Lord Marchamley on the subject of a seat in Parliament. Lady Agnes has given him her full sympathy in taking the step.

*April 30th.*—Dined with Beauchamps. The Austro-Hungarian Ambassador, Lalaings, Brasseys, Grimstons, Chelmsford, Lady Stanhope, Lady Leconfield, Lady Harcourt, Hugh and Lady M. Morrison, Erringtons, and P. Ralli. I had some conversation with Mensdorff, who shook his head gloomily over the present *impasse*, which he thought charged with possibilities of mischief. He expressed himself so discontented with the rôle he was doomed to play during the negotiations, that I could not but gather it had been extremely distasteful to him to carry out his instructions. "I am sick of the whole thing," was his emphatic comment. His position has indeed been a thankless one, for throughout this period of prolonged tension it has been for him to strike the note of discord in the European concert. Whether he has done it well or ill is of no particular moment; his complaint is that the situation has all along been outside his control. He constitutionally lacks force, and it may well be that he is conscious of not being impressive.

I took Lady Harcourt in to dinner, who played rather sadly the part of the great statesman's widow in exile. When we got upstairs Lady Beauchamp presented me to Lady Grimston, who talked with a grace and intelligence which I found very attractive.

*May 7th.*—Council this morning, primarily for some colo-

nial currency business for which Harcourt pressed. Emmott accordingly attended, with the Lord President, Lincolnshire, and Sandhurst.

Lord Morley was dining last night with Lord Rothschild, who asked him whether, when he made his reassuring statement at the Academy Banquet, he had any special knowledge justifying his confidence. This, Lord Morley said, he had not; on the contrary, Austria was in her most exacting mood and Montenegro as defiant as ever, but he knew Russia was exerting all the influence she could, and he calculated that it must have effect before the door was closed on concession. Curiously enough, Benckendorff, who was present, did not share his assurance, and rallied him afterwards on his optimism. The ambassadorial conferences appear to have been conducted with every outward manifestation of friendliness, but, according to Lord Morley, they all talked at once, and Imperiali never ceased talking. Both Lord Morley and Nicolson confirmed the impression I gathered from my conversation with Mensdorff that he disliked the tenor of his instructions; so depressed was he that, at one moment, he declared that the negotiations would be the ruin of him, Sazonoff, and Berchtold.

Lord Morley is going to Berlin for the holidays, with the intention of observing as much reticence as he can: "It will not be a Haldane *incognito*," he said with a smile.

*May 9th–13th.*—At Heron Court for Whitsuntide. The Monsons, Walter Herveys, Miss Manners, and Godfrey White were the party. On Sunday we went over to Broadlands for luncheon, by which means we saw the heart of the New Forest under the perfect conditions of a day charged with the fulness of spring. Without a motor such a feat would be impracticable, but one would have liked to reduce the speed at which we went to some standard whereby the beauty of our surroundings might have been more accurately measured. As it was, the view unfolded a perpetual pageant in the figured manifestation of woodland loveliness.

*May 16th.*—A portion of the Press were thrown into the liveliest excitement by the discovery that Lord Morley had been for some days in Berlin. My house and the Privy Council Office were besieged with enquiries, and the redoubtable Mr. Garvin brought out the "Pall Mall Gazette" with all sorts of significant hints of what the portent might mean. It is no subject of wonder that with such a lead a large body of German opinion is convulsed with an agony of speculation, which might have been set at rest by the obvious reflection that even a Cabinet Minister must choose some place for a holiday, and why not the capital of the German Empire?

*May 22nd.*—I read with interest a letter of Sir E. Goschen's,

in which he described the speculations of the German Press as to the objects of Lord Morley's visit to Berlin. Nothing which is at present matter of the least controversy was excluded from its supposed purview, and the discussions to be entered upon might well have occupied months of close negotiation. Sir Edward spoke with some apprehension of the stubborn rivalries the prospect of peace had excited among the Balkan Allies, and seemed to consider a renewal of strife on their account within the bounds of possibility.

*May 25th.*—Amport for Sunday. The Knaresboroughs, Lawsons, and ourselves, with some men.

*June 2nd.*—I saw Lord Morley for the first time since his return from Berlin. His appreciation of the curiosity excited by his visit almost suggests that it was intended to " pull the leg " of the European Press. He met some politicians, and among them Tirpitz, with whom he had a long conversation, but of course the topic present to the minds of both was carefully avoided. Lord Morley found him agreeable enough, but emphatically labelled him *un faux bonhomme.* He spoke in high praise of Granville's taet and talents, and paid a marked tribute to Lady Granville's judgment and *savoir-faire.* He was evidently disturbed by the political position at home, and had little to say in defence of Lloyd George's miscalculations upon the effects of the Insurance Act. He admitted, indeed, that though of course the Cabinet as a whole warmly approved the general design, there were not more than two of them with the least idea of how it would work out in practice : they had no choice, therefore, but to accept Lloyd George's assurances on the point, and these were of such a confident and categorical character that scepticism would have implied distrust. Lloyd George has been so accustomed to drive things through by sheer force of assertion, that he is ill-prepared when the facts declare against him.

*June 3rd.*—It was a lovely morning for the Birthday Parade, and I had never seen the movements executed with more rhythmical precision. I had between thirty and forty people on my stand, including the Bathursts (four), Derby and Lady Victoria, Lady Grimston and Lady Baring, Aberdare and Miss Bruce, Mrs. Adeane and her daughter, Mrs. Wythes and daughter, Colonel Rosdew Burn and daughter, H. Shaw-Stewart and niece. There being a margin of space, we rescued Lord George and Lady Elizabeth Scott with two children from the crowd below, where they were seeking, by the aid of some rickety camp-stools, to catch a glimpse of what was going on.

McKenna's dinner was held at the Prince's Restaurant, which has good rooms and wine, but the food was indifferent.

*June 4th.*—Dinner on guard with Frank Farquhar, to meet the Editor of " The Morning Post " (H. Gwynne), who struck

me as a man of independent judgment and wide views. He has seen a good deal of soldiers' work in bygone days, as a correspondent, and speaks on European dynamics with some authority.

*June 5th.*—A big dinner at the Schroeders', at which a certain number of the German contingent for the Versailles Ball at the Albert Hall were present, and the remainder came in after dinner and were photographed in an unmanageable and motley group. Such people, imprisoned in the habits of two and a half centuries ago, always have my compassion; the vestures of the dead fit them ill, and they look so uncomfortable; their splendour seems to fade before the ironical smile of the past: it is all powder and *postiche*, and fades while you look at it. The Court was that of the great Elector and his wife, who were personated by Count and Countess Blücher. I took in Baroness Kühlmann, whose husband is the second figure in the German Embassy, and said to be the most dangerous. She was dressed as some vanished Princess of Anhalt, and fitted her part better than most, as she has an old-fashioned dignity and reserve and a soft way of talking, which might be the echo of distant centuries. Another element in the dinner was the representation of *haute finance* in the persons of Cassel and Speyer. Cassel is a dejected and pathetic figure—a sermon, if you like, on the vanity of great wealth; nothing seems to rouse his interest except a reference to his grandchildren. Speyer predicted the end of the present boom in trade before very long; indeed, he thought the signs of it would be apparent before the end of the present financial year.

*June 6th.*—My daughter and I dined with the Lawrence Curries for the Opera "Louise," which was admirably rendered. The Invocation to Paris in the third Act left nothing to be desired. With the glimmering lights of the great city spread at our feet beneath the dim curtain of night, the lines of Baudelaire rose to mind:

> "Une atmosphère obscure enveloppe la ville,
> Aux uns portant la paix, aux autres le souci.
> Pendant que des mortels la multitude vile,
> Sous le fouet du Plaisir, ce bourreau sans merci,
> Va cueillir des remords dans la fête servile,
> Ma Douleur, donne-moi la main; viens par ici,
> Loin d'eux. Vois se pencher les défuntes Années,
> Sur les balcons du ciel, en robes surannées."

The Derby House Ball for the King and Queen finished the evening and this week. It was a brilliant spectacle; the house was thronged with beauty in its bravest aspect, and the pulses of pleasure beat high.

*June 9th.*—The King's luncheon to the Peace delegates was, according to Lord Morley, who sat between the Duke of Connaught and the Turk, happily arranged, but quite fruitless of conciliation. The negotiations will now be transferred to the capitals of the

rival States. A despatch of Goschen's put on record that the German Emperor is highly elated at the royal visit, and in the results of conversations between the three Sovereigns, many of which took place, Russia has made the strongest representations to King Ferdinand. It is believed that, in the event of war, the Bulgarian army would be in Belgrade in three weeks. Lord Morley encouraged me to talk about the position of the Government, which, disagreeable as it was in many respects, did not appear to him to threaten its existence. No Bill except the measures to be dealt with under the Parliament Act, had, he thought, the least chance of being proceeded with, and on those measures the Government could count upon their usual support. No attempt to deal specially with Ulster was, he believed, administratively practicable, and, were the demands of Ulster met, those of the rest of Ireland would then have to be considered. He laid stress on the fact that every Unionist speaker of weight in the House of Lords, except Midleton, of whom he desired to speak with the greatest respect, had agreed that the defeat of the Bill would not remove the difficulty, and that some way out of the *impasse* must be found. The Prime Minister had, he said, spoken gravely to the Cabinet of the slackness which nearly led to defeat in the House of Commons last Monday, which Lord Morley let pass with a smiling reference to the view of some people that the Prime Minister had not set any great example of diligence in his late return from the Mediterranean. He confirmed all their own Press are saying of his constant absence from his place on the Treasury Bench, which was in strong contrast with Mr. Gladstone's unremitting attendance, and had a depressing effect on party loyalty, particularly at a moment when circumstances put upon it an abnormal strain. He agreed with me that the situation was critical and obscure, and even alarming. He put the Marconi muddle in the front place of the Government's embarrassments. The Prime Minister, he said, felt it " very bitterly," and the last disclosures affecting Murray had been a heavy blow.

Walking across St. James's Park, I joined Crewe, who, talking of the disqualification of Craiganour, said the Stewards had acted on the strong recommendation of the Judge and the Clerk of the Course that the race had not been fairly run, and that, though Aboyeur was partly in fault, the great weight of the evidence incriminated the winner.

*June* 10*th*.—George Wyndham's death removes a shining personality from the drab field of politics. He was endowed with the best gifts of his French ancestry, a fine taste in literature, and a faculty of expression both ardent and picturesque; but with them, through some strain of blood or flaw of temperament, which may have been part of the fatal inheritance of the Geral-

dines, there was a touch of irresolution and uncertainty of purpose which stood in the way of the highest achievement. Looking at his career as a whole, it may well be that he went *felix opportunitate mortis*, an epitaph which is rarely inappropriate, whatever the urge given by " the guide of our dark steps."

*June* 13*th*.—Council at eleven. Lord Morley, Sandhurst, Ashby St. Ledgers, Islington, and Sir S. Griffith, Chief Justice of Australia: the last-named has been a Privy Councillor for twelve years, but no opportunity for taking the oaths had yet occurred. The Privy Councillors announced on the King's Birthday, Lord Welby, W. Lewis, Sir A. Mond, and the new Lord Justice, were also sworn. Sir A. Mond made no fuss about the form of the oath.

*June* 16*th*.—I met John Burns this morning watching the dress rehearsal for the ceremony of presenting colours to the Irish Guards. After some warm encomiums of the battalion and the whole brigade, he passed to a review of the political situation, from which he deduced the expediency of bringing the Session to an end at the earliest possible moment. We are suffering, he said, from mortal staleness and a condition of mutual exasperation, the effect of continuous sittings and the constant revival of bitter controversies, which are undermining the esteem entertained for Parliament and the reputation of both political parties. He trusted that the Prime Minister, in dealing with the Marconi trouble, would at last grasp the nettle and commit himself to a measured censure of his colleagues' mistake. He described how Lloyd George might have destroyed the whole edifice of calumny if he had stood up in his place last October and, " with a tear in his throat and a husky voice, said, ' Innocently, or it may well be thoughtlessly, but quite honourably, I did what I ought not to have done, and throw myself upon the mercy of the House.' Why," he said, " Bonar Law would have got up, and, after a few sentences, the whole House would have rejoiced over one sinner that repented, and nothing more would have been heard of the thing since." He thought nothing of a man who did not know when to admit his errors.

This afternoon the picture of Lord Macnaghten, presented by Lord Mersey, was unveiled in the Council-chamber by Lord Morley, who quite justified his fame as a master of polished and plangent phrase in the estimate he had formed of Lord Macnaghten's great gifts as a Judge. He was particularly at home in his tribute to the literary quality of his judgments, which he said lifted them far above the somewhat arid level of ordinary judicial pronouncements. Lord Halsbury was pressed to add a few words, but he excused himself on the ground that he would only spoil the impression which had been created. Almost all those, including the Lord Chancellor, who usually sit in either of the

Supreme Courts, were present, and in addition Lord De Villiers, the Chief Justice of South Africa, and Sir S. Griffith, Chief Justice of Australia. The picture itself, which is a *replica* of the one in Lincoln's Inn, reflects the greatest credit upon Glazebrook: he has caught not only the subject and character, but his idiosyncrasy, which is the last test of portraiture.

*June 18th.*—On his way to a hastily summoned meeting of the Cabinet, Lord Morley met Sir Charles Matthews leaving the Prime Minister's room. "Hullo, you here! Are you looking for criminals?" was his remark, which he admitted afterwards perhaps he ought not to have said before the messengers; but the episode was a delightful impromptu.

*June 20th–23rd.*—At Broadlands in perfect weather. I had the opportunity of seeing the higher range of the New Forest from Lyndhurst to the borders of Wiltshire, where the features of the country unfold themselves in broken lines of the most varied beauty. The party included the Chilian Minister and his beautiful wife, Miss Violet Pennant, Sir F. Banbury, and Spender-Clay, who killed six salmon in the two days. Wilfrid Ashley has placed a sculptured stele in Romsey Abbey to the memory of his wife: the figure of the mother clasping her two children is vested in all the dignity of great sorrow; there is about it both the sense of surrender and a tenderness that survives the grave, and surely no symbol of grief could be more richly shrined.

*June 25th.*—The day was devoted to President Poincaré. At 9.30 I attended with the Council of the "Institut Français de Londres" to receive him at Marble Arch House, where he addressed the members and their friends in a short speech compact with wise encouragement and cordial sympathy; and at one o'clock I was at the Guildhall for the City Luncheon in his honour. His reception there surpassed anything I can recall, and, in his remarks replying to the Address, he was evidently much moved by the striking evidence of good-will. Next in warmth came the welcome accorded to Arthur Balfour, although that of the Prime Minister left nothing to be desired.

*June 27th.*—The State Ball last night struck a note of magnificence that fittingly ended the French President's visit. The familiar setting never shone with greater lustre, and, large as the company was, it seemed to bear itself with more than customary dignity and restraint. Poincaré could not be induced to take part in the Quadrille.

*June 28th.*—This afternoon Miss Boscawen was married to Lord Petre at the Westminster Cathedral. She is so *rayonnante* and attractive, that one wishes the best for her.

*June 29th.*—I saw George Murray this afternoon, who professed to think it mattered little who was appointed Secretary of the Treasury, and, on my saying such an opinion was hardly

flattering to the office or to its late occupant, he said that, with no Chancellor of the Exchequer and no Parliamentary Secretary, a Permanent Secretary could do nothing. Of Lloyd George we know that he had used the Treasury merely as a politician, without the foresight and the understanding that are the strength of finance, and his estimate of Masterman confirms what I hear from Morant, that he has become the mere slave of purely political exigencies. Murray mentioned Nathan, but as a soldier and a Jew I thought him impossible. Babington Smith, who was his other selection, and the best that could be made, was not, in his opinion, likely to leave his present condition.

*July 4th.*—Dined with the Clarkes, where happily I took Mrs. Lawson in to dinner. Afterwards I met my daughter at the Duchess of Somerset's dance, which was quite cheerful, though marked by the efforts of older men to embark upon or impede the intricacies of modern dancing. The Duke himself was vigorous in a somewhat jerky *deux-temps*, which must have been the despair of his young partners. Sir Claude Macdonald, ex-Ambassador, Leigh, Bathurst, Dynevor, and others of mature age, were conspicuous for their energy. The Duchess of Montrose was there, as lovely as ever.

*July 8th.*—Talking of the Laureateship and the Prime Minister's intentions for its disposal (it is to go to R. Bridges) Lord Morley said, " So, if you want to make a little money, like some, you can lay against Hardy and Kipling."

The funeral service for Alfred Lyttelton at St. Margaret's was thronged; the great church had hardly standing-room for the multitude gathered to the last tribute of reverence and affection. A striking witness to the appeal that character still makes to men. No one, moreover, was there who did not seem moved by something deeper than curiosity or routine.

We had luncheon with Sir E. Cassel, who, referring to Lyttelton, said he had no enemies. " I would go farther," I said; " there was no one who did not love him." " I am a man who measures his phrases," was the reply, " but I agree with you."

Cassel's house, which I had not seen since the addition, is most splendid. The space acquired on the east side has been used to improve the staircase, which is now overlooked with a pillared gallery. The dining-room, built out behind, across the whole width of the site, is a magnificent chamber with arcuated ends, the entrance to which is flanked with Corinthian columns, and the walls hung with four superb Vandykes. It is the great merit of your Jew of taste that he never overloads his walls with pictures: selection in excellence is his aim.

Lady Clarendon was there, and a charming young lady whose name I missed, clearly of foreign origin, who said she lived in Norfolk.

Cassel's grandchildren had come up to meet us; indeed, that was the main object of our being there; and it was interesting to see in his relations with them the softer side of this man outshine the thrall of material ambitions. He mentioned Lord Morley and Winston having had luncheon with him a few days before, and gave high praise to the deferential manner with which Winston bore himself towards his great colleague.

Later we went to Burdett-Coutts's garden party at Holly Lodge, where the gardens were in great beauty, though there was a lack of sun to lift the gloom from the woods.

*July 9th.*—Mrs. Lawson had a small gathering of people interested in literature and music, which occupied more than two hours very pleasantly. At her request I had written an account of the prophecy of Cazotte, as recorded in La Harpe's posthumous works, which I read to her friends. It is singular that this graphic introduction to the tragedy of the French Revolution is so little known, and yet there are few things more curious and impressive.

*July 10th.*—A morality play was given in the crypt of Lambeth Palace, a genuine fifteenth-century produetion; interesting as an archæological curiosity, but lacking in dramatic significance. It is, however, perhaps the literary form most eloquent of mediæval thought.

*July 12th.*—Sir Owen Philipps invited some 250 people to Southampton for a cruise in the Solent on board the mammoth liner, the "Balmoral Castle," the firstfruits of the improved service to the Cape following upon his recent "combine." There were enough pleasant people on board to make it agreeable; an exeellent luncheon, and the day was one of the few cloudless passages with which this summer has been strewn. The Solent was lovely in the flying perspectives which reflected the sunlight. Lady Philipps placed me next her at luncheon, and I had tea with the Duchess of Hamilton, Lalaing, and Willie Portal.

*July 13th.*—Dined with the Beauchamps: Lady Leconfield, Victor Corkran, and the Archdeacon of London were there. I told Beauchamp Lord Morley had given me very good reasons for thinking he would not be induced to speak on the Welsh Disestablishment Bill: in his view, one in his position, detached not only from the Church of England, but from any definite religious connection, was better silent on such a subject in the House of Lords.

*July 15th.*—The Home Rule debate presented no novel features: the same dreary reiteration of irreconcilable points of view, and nothing but lip-service to the wisdom of compromise. Signs, moreover, of growing acrimony are not wanting, and the King is gravely concerned by the problem he will have to face next year. The Tory Party have committed themselves so deeply in Ulster, without awaking the expected response in the

British constituencies, that they have no way of retreat open, and the Government have escaped substantial criticism on the financial claims which constitute the real flaw in their constructive statesmanship, and might, if properly exposed, have upset their plans.

*July 16th.*—Lord Morley brought back with him delightful reminiscences of his visit to Knowsley[1]: he had nothing but praise for the efficiency of the arrangements, for which Derby made himself directly responsible, and he paid a warm tribute to his and Lady Derby's cordiality. Hobhouse, who was there, as Minister in attendance, had warned him to expect some coldness, but he met with and could discern no trace of it. Lady Moyra Cavendish's charm and intelligence deeply impressed him. The King, he said, played his part well, and at crucial moments assumed the dignity of the purple. The enthusiasm of the children of Manchester, waving countless flags which had been supplied by Derby, was the most affecting part of the public demonstration.

*July 17th.*—Mrs. Lawson had another literary and musical reunion, which began with a reply from the pen of Miss Lister Kaye to the paper on art read the week before, wherein she attempted to give post-impressionism the values of truth and to assign it a definite place in the permanent evolution of ideas. The plea was put forward with no little ingenuity and a rhetorical vivacity which gave her paper real literary interest. It was delivered, too, with a graceful intonation and a manner that conveyed a subtle attraction. Mrs. Lawson contributed a delightful little sketch of the "Salon," which she traced back to the Lesbian admirers of Sappho. I followed with "The Year 1000," based upon Emil Gebhart's memorable account of the vigil of Pope Silvester II and the Emperor Otho III on that night when the whole Christian world awaited the Second Coming of Christ. Some musical impromptus from Mr. Percy Jonson were interspersed.

*July 23rd.*—The debate on the Welsh Church Bill in the House of Lords brought no new matter to light, and was even more perfunctory than the parallel essay last year. Lord Morley told me Haldane's speech was the best he had heard him deliver, his fluency better controlled to the purpose of his argument and his treatment of the theme fresh and striking: it was all the more remarkable as he had come up from Scotland the previous night and had been sitting in the Court of Appeal all day. With him the ordinary conditions of physical existence seem in abeyance.

Mrs. Asquith's garden party was a rather bleak affair, but

[1] For the royal visit to Lancashire, including an Address from the University of Manchester, of which Lord Morley was Chancellor.

well done. I congratulated Spencer and Lady Delia upon the Garter, which is, I believe, a source of very great satisfaction to him, and, like the gout, is in the family.

*July 25th.*—Dinner with Lady St. Helier to finish the season. I took Elizabeth Lady Carnarvon in to dinner and found her very hot upon Ireland. I did not refer to Lord Carnarvon's negotiations with Mr. Parnell.

Sir R. Finlay gave me a distressing account of the Lord Chief Justice: the end may come at any minute; heart and arteries worn out, and dropsy urgent. The Head of the Gordon College at Khartoum was there, and testified to the wonderful work it was doing, thanks to the liberality of the State in giving £2,000,000 to the purpose.

*July 28th–31st.*—On board the "Medusa." We found fog off the mouth of the Seine and lay at Havre till the afternoon of the 29th, when we made our way to Caudebec. Midday on the 30th we went on to Jumièges; the Abbey lies about a kilometre from the banks of the river, and is to my mind one of the two most perfect of all the monastic ruins I know. No one can stand unmoved in its forsaken aisles. Built in 1074, it is one of the earliest efforts of Norman genius, and is conspicuous for the great height of the arch which once supported the central tower. The spirit of these places does not grow old, and nowhere does it brood with more irresistible power than here. All the hope and glory of the Middle Age is enshrined within these broken walls: the cry of pity, the protest against materialism, the instinct to find an inviolable refuge and a certain goal—all, in fact, which gives to man the message of ransom and calls him to the contemplation of peace. The cloister, they said, was removed at the time of the Revolution by some English nobleman, and its location has never been discovered.

When we reached the sea at nine o'clock it was clear that a strong north-east wind had been blowing all day, and as soon as we had left Le Havre the sea was very rough. After eight hours in the open we reached Southampton at six.

*August 5th.*—I heard from Lord Morley this morning, enclosing a letter from Asquith inviting his assistance in connection with the request for a Royal Commission on the subject of Syphilis, and intimating that he should like to know my ideas on the constitution and functions of such a Commission. Seeing that a Commission was recommended by my Physical Deterioration Committee nine years ago, I found myself well equipped for tendering advice, and this evening took advantage of the dinner to the Medical Congress to make enquiries in certain directions. Sir H. Morris, who was near me at the table, confirmed my impression that two of the best men for the purpose were Dr. Mott, who gave evidence in 1904, and Colonel Gibbard, lecturer at the

Army Medical College. The banquet quite corresponded to the hopes of its promoters ; Lord Morley was in the chair, Beauchamp as host received the guests, and John Burns was omnipresent. I was between a Hungarian and an Austrian ; the last-named could speak English fluently, and was very agreeable *au reste*. He refused to admit that there was any disposition abroad to view English medicine with disparagement, while English surgery bore the highest repute. America, perhaps, came first in speculative audacity, and Germany, as might be expected, in thoroughness of method. It was the privilege of France to be the quickest to adapt the conditions of practice to new ideas of etiology and treatment.

*August 6th.*—I saw Lord Morley before the Cabinet and showed him the passages in my report of 1904 bearing on the proposed investigation. I spoke strongly in favour of a Commission, in preference to a Select Committee, which John Burns was pressing. Lord Morley's ideas of the composition of the Commission appeared to me in the main sound, though he was hardly prepared to admit so strong a medical element as I thought expedient. He was arranging in the course of the next day or two to see some of the leading representatives of the profession, including Mott, and hoped by Friday to have the skeleton of his plans fairly clothed. After the Doctors, Law, and Labour, the Churches and Women had all to be considered.

I saw him again after the Cabinet, when he was able to tell me that the Prime Minister had signified his adhesion to the views we entertain.

*August 8th.*—On my return from the country this morning, I found considerable progress had been made at least in the way of elimination. The problem of a chairman was still unsolved, but Sir J. Stirling and Lord Mersey were mentioned as lawyers who might serve the purpose. Apparently Lord Morley had been pressed by Barlow to take the chair himself, but he deemed the task too incongruous as the closing effort of his literary life. I agreed it would be rather odd if a Report on Syphilis were to be his valedictory message to the public. He had been very much struck by Dr. Mott's powerful personality and the range of his physiological investigations.

*August 12th.*—Council for the prorogation and approval of the King's speech, from which Ministers, after some discussion, had wisely excluded any reference to the Bills rejected by the Lords. Lord Morley, Harcourt, Sir W. Carington, and Mr. Fischer, Minister of the Interior, South Africa, attended. Sir L. Mallet was sworn in. I had seen Fischer yesterday, who spoke very sensibly of the riots on the Rand, in the suppression of which no undue force had been used. The Commission for the redress of grievances was an integral part of the Government's

policy, and, *pari passu* with the remedy of these, the maintenance of order would be the Government's first duty.

After the Council the King awarded the Albert Medal to a number of heroes of humble condition. Loch, who was present as Lord-in-Waiting, told me afterwards he did it remarkably well, saying just the right thing to each recipient and evincing genuine interest in their exploits. Loch added that it was impossible to listen to the recital, which the Home Secretary read, without what John Burns calls a "tear in the throat," and, as each fresh deed of cold-blooded valour was proclaimed, he had to say to himself, "I should not have done that." One man had his attention called by the cries of some children to the fact that one of their comrades had fallen down a shaft of sixteen feet in depth into a sewer under repair. Without a moment's pause he sprang into the chasm, and, with water up to his chin, fished about for the child, which he held above his head for half an hour before assistance came. Loch very properly said these deeds should be published in some special way through the length and breadth of the land.

Lord Morley told me the Prime Minister jumped at my suggestion of Sir E. Clarke as Chairman of the Syphilis Commission, and felt pretty confident he would accept the position. He further thought three women enough, wherein I agree.

*August 13th.*—I had a final talk with Lord Morley, who goes to Scotland to-morrow, on the subject of the Commission, the constitution of which is nearly settled so far as the persons to be invited go.

The discussion of Clarke's aptitude led to some reminiscences of his parliamentary feats, in connection with which I commented on the way in which he had brought the talent of the actor into play as a counterpoise to somewhat poor external gifts. "Yes," he said, "and the actor came out in James too. I remember his being very angry with me for describing some great national effort into which he had thrown all his forces, as displaying the arts of the bar, the pulpit, and the stage; he walked away with Lockwood, saying, 'I will get my knife into that fellow!'"

*August 14th.*—In returning a book of Tocqueville's to Lord Morley, I remarked that there was nothing more interesting than the confessions of a disabused politician, to which he sent me the following characteristic reply: "Many thanks to you for the book and for your note. Yes—plenty of illusion in politics, but that is because the illuded persons had unreasonable hopes. And yet such hopes are usually needed to get reasonable reforms. Yours, M."

*August 15th–23rd.*—Deal. While here I called on Lord Loreburn, whom I found in a rest-house in the upper part of his garden on the edge of the down commanding a magnificent view of the

Straits. He was placidly reading, and appeared to have quite recovered his health. In the course of conversation he entered upon the present situation in Ireland, and dwelt with great earnestness and feeling on the troubles which would attend the triumph of either party. Some settlement by consent was, he believed, necessary, and not impossible, and, if no one else moved in the matter, he gave me to understand he would do his best to bring about a conference on the subject. He did not conceal the difficulties that lay in the way of any effective intervention, and he surprised me by the thoroughness with which he was prepared to jettison the ministerial cargo under the Parliament Act. Beside the transformation of the Home Rule Bill in a form acceptable to Ulster, he was ready, if the Opposition made it a condition of assenting to Home Rule in any shape, to postpone the Welsh Bill till after another General Election, and then largely modify the disendowment clauses in favour of the Church. He did not seem to have reflected very deeply on the attitude his late colleagues might take towards such a scheme of accommodation, but spoke with very great fervour upon his own sense of responsibility in the matter.

*September 29th.*—Returned to London to-day. The rest of my holiday was spent mainly in Devonshire and Yorkshire. While at Duncombe Park I spent an hour with Ulrica Baring at her eyrie on the edge of the Moors, in a seclusion that can be felt. It is due to her to say she enjoys it thoroughly, and has the means of filling in the background with her untiring mental activity. She confessed to me that her views on female suffrage had undergone a great change; it was not so much the violence of the militant movement as the intellectual poverty of its defence that had completely disabused her. No man, she said, however ill-educated, could possibly have shown such argumentative feebleness, and it was her rueful conclusion that years might elapse before women could be trained to any useful conception of civic duty.

On our way to London we stopped at Lincoln for the Sunday, and in the hours I spent in and about the great Minster I grew to realise the way in which a building may become a part of a man's soul, as Victor Hugo describes in "Notre-Dame de Paris." In many of its details, and in the perfection of its *ensemble*, Lincoln is in my opinion the last word upon our ecclesiastical monuments. An evening service in the nave, at which the Bishop preached, gave a very impressive emphasis to the human side of its appeal.

We went to luncheon at the Monsons', only two miles, with for more than half the distance a walk through the park along a terrace, beneath which the whole vale of Trent lay pulsing in the sunshine. The house has some good pictures, and both Monson and Lady Monson were extremely kind.

On our way to London we stayed two hours at Ely, and got an impression of that stately fane which it was interesting to set against that of Lincoln.

*October 3rd.*—My telling Lord Morley I had been at Deal drew from him the instant enquiry whether I had seen Lord Loreburn, upon which I gave him a pretty full account of our conversation. He dismissed the whole project as "moonshine," and declared the Government could make no move, though of course if Lord Lansdowne approached them with any proposal, it would receive the most respectful consideration. He ridiculed the idea of successful mediation between Redmond and Carson, and doubted whether there was any field for obtaining substantial concession from either. The Government could hardly betray their followers by surrendering the advantages conferred in the Parliament Act, and it was clear that Lord Loreburn's position could not be made good except at some such cost.

We then discussed the composition of the Royal Commission. The failure to get Digby as chairman had compelled them to have recourse to Lord Sydenham, in spite of the fact that an ex-soldier was a somewhat queer substitute for a lawyer. It appears Haldane had pressed him (Lord Morley) to take it himself, but the prospect was too much for him, as he said, "How could I begin with Voltaire and Rousseau and end with Venereal Diseases?"

*October 8th.*—John Burns came over to see Lord Morley about the Royal Commission, but most of their time was occupied by Burns's account of his visit to Spain. He astonished Lord Morley by the quickness of his sympathies, the closeness of his observation and his range of ideas.

*October 14th.*—Council at 10.30. Lord Morley, Knollys, Sandhurst, and Allendale. A. Hardinge, Ambassador at Madrid, sworn. Lord Morley told me His Majesty was very urgent on compromise. He recognised Redmond's difficulty, who of course has to make the most of the case for no change, but insisted that in the last resort he must be disregarded, if an accommodation was to be reached upon the lines sketched by Winston Churchill, which he assumed might be taken to represent a view present to the minds of the Government. To this Lord Morley said he was inclined to demur, and rather treated the speech as illustrating the disadvantage incidental to the utterances of individual Ministers, for which the Cabinet had really no collective responsibility. He admitted, however, that the Prime Minister professed not to find much that was "faulty" in Winston's speech, but it appeared to him that, if the ideas expressed in that speech caught on, a split in the Liberal Party was inevitable. He thought it likely that, in such circumstances, Asquith would carry the bulk of the Cabinet with him, and he presumed that Redmond would at once use his power to put them out. This would of course in-

volve the abandonment of Home Rule by the official Liberals, and he did not envy the Tory Party the obligation they would incur to propose a settlement of the question.

The length to which "The Times" went this morning in accepting the principle of Home Rule was, he said, a most notable witness to the justice of the cause to which Mr. Gladstone gave the last years of his public life, and he wished he could have lived to see it.

I am to serve on the Royal Commission. I am glad of the recognition thus accorded to the part played by the Physical Deterioration Committee in having first suggested its nomination, but I accepted the position mainly because I understood it to be Lord Morley's wish to have some member in touch with himself during its sittings, and I can certainly discharge this duty better than anyone else.

*October 16th.*—The deliberations of the Cabinet on the Irish problem have not issued in any decision likely to produce a breach in the Liberal Party. The disposition has been not to define their attitude or for the moment unnecessarily to limit freedom of opinion within their ranks either in council or on the platform. They adhere to the view that, if any arrangement is to be sought, overtures must come from the Opposition, and that Winston Churchill's speech might be deemed not to have gone further than a man might reasonably do in discussing all the eventualities to which a situation so complex and anxious might give rise. The King's perfect constitutional propriety has never been in question: if Lord Lansdowne and Mr. Bonar Law have sought to draw him, they met with no encouragement for the doctrines put forward by certain Unionist publicists. On the other hand, it would be equally wrong to assume that he takes his orders from the Prime Minister. An incident that attended the close of yesterday's Cabinet is not without instruction on this point. As they were about to disperse, Harcourt said he was going to have a tooth out, upon which Asquith remarked that he was in a similar plight, for he was going to see the King. If His Majesty can draw the Prime Minister's teeth, it is no inconsiderable achievement. His is at least not the rôle of a passive resister.

*October 27th.*—The Prime Minister's speech, though he had to keep two audiences in view, is a triumph of explicit meaning. Unfortunately, the Tory Press has not agreed upon the thing to say, and the attempt of some of them to detect no conciliation in its purport is too obviously intended to distract those who see more clearly. The conditions he lays down afford the only securities he can take for the effective realisation of the Government's principal aim with every concession that may be practicable to meet the special claims of Ulster.

Lady St. Helier came to see Lord Morley on the subject of

the Venereal Diseases Commission, and in the course of conversation remarked that Mr. Burns was quite insensible to the value of any idea which did not germinate in his own brain. "Ah! said Lord Morley, throwing himself back and opening his eyes in the manner he has, "so you have made that discovery." He was very much struck with the knowledge and judgment displayed in her handling of the question, and was glad to find that she commended the composition of the Commission.

*November 6th.*—I found Lord Morley reading the proof of Lord Curzon's forthcoming Rede Lecture on Parliamentary Eloquence at the Present Day, which led to some interesting observations on Mr. Gladstone, whom Curzon put easily first among the orators he had heard. Lord Morley had sent him Furniss's picture in "Punch," giving all the old man's wonderful wealth of attitude, which had always a distinct oratorical significance, though he admitted that with Mr. Gladstone the line between gesture and gesticulation was often overrun. Gesture with Lord Rosebery, he said, though often emphatic, was divorced from the message of the orator and purely personal. He himself regarded Curzon's as the finest type of parliamentary eloquence we had now, superior to anything in the House of Commons. It is curious how persistently, in spite of their constant collision in politics, Lord Morley admires Curzon: he knows to the core the best side of him, as evinced by a story he proceeded to tell me, which drew from me the comment, "That was a display of true magnanimity," a verdict he most heartily endorsed. It appears that, when Curzon returned from India, he was very anxious to receive an English Peerage, but met an invincible obstacle in the will of the Prime Minister (Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman). Lord Morley being at Windsor, King Edward opened the matter with him, whereupon he gave His Majesty, at some length, his reasons for supporting the Prime Minister. King Edward was very much impressed, and asked him to put what he had said on paper and send it to Lord Knollys, which he proceeded to do. On the following day he was engaged to have luncheon with Curzon to meet some Indian notabilities, when, to his dismay, in the morning he received from Knollys an intimation that he had sent his letter on to Curzon: a very remarkable step in a man of Knollys's experience. Lord Morley fully expected to have a note to say that Curzon had to put him off, but in due course he presented himself in Carlton Gardens, where, as he said, nothing could have been more cordial, kind, and courteous than his reception. Nor did he ever refer to the matter till, years afterwards, in a jocular vein, he mentioned his having put a spoke in his wheel on that occasion.

Lord Morley gave very high praise to Newton's Life of Lord Lyons, which he thought better than Herbert Maxwell's treatment

of Lord Clarendon, though the latter was full of gossipy interest.

*November 7th.*—The first meeting of the Commission was held this afternoon, Mr. Snowden being the only absentee. Procedure was first discussed, and the Statistician of the Registrar-General's Department was under examination for the rest of the time, with the result of creating the impression that the statistics on the subject were of no great value. Lord Sydenham, our chairman, was very deferential.

*November 17th–21st.*—A most agreeable party at Longleat: Lord and Lady Cairns, Archie and Lady Edmonstone, Harry Verney, Lady Joan, Miss Margaret Smith, G. Villiers, G. Feilding, and one or two more. I had not seen the place for thirty years. It looked its loveliest against the setting of woods still golden with their autumn harvest, and nowhere does the genius of the past appeal to the soul with a more clamant grace: three centuries wear the aspect of a day that is scarcely dead, so much is their spirit harmonised and subdued by some pervading sense of continuity and association. It would be difficult to speak in too high praise of Bath's dignity and kindness as the dispenser of the hospitalities of so magnificent a palace, and his efforts are ably seconded by the graceful courtesy of his lovely daughters. In the figure, however, of Lady Bath, a still higher interest centred: she seemed compact of that ultimate insight which is sometimes the inheritance of suffering. Most of the hours she was with us she lay on her back, and her face, too often, was lit with the solemn light of pain; but her spirit burnt brightly the while, and her remote horizon was always clear of clouds. Each evening I spent the time after dinner sitting on a chair at the head of her couch, and one night Harry Verney and Lord Cairns joined the group. She talked to us all three with a tranquil earnestness, cementing the conversation here and there by the *mot juste*, and with a touching fervour and moral elevation lifting the *disjecta membra* of an after-dinner colloquy to the level of some high motive or memory. When it was all over I took away the impression of something unearthly, ethereal; something from that half-way house which physical weariness and bodily pain, not infrequently, seem to build as an outpost of the further self, the *eidolon* of the Platonic dream, incarnate and yet uncreate. She left me with the discernment of a spirit to whom things come with quietness, when the eyes recall the light of dim churches through the glow of old glass and the voice falls caressingly like music heard along some distant corridor.

Bath spoke with judgment and restraint on the aspect of politics, both Irish and agrarian; indeed, it would be difficult to recognise in him any community of thought with the fustian so rife on Tory lips. Unhappily, he belongs to a reticent school

of opinion, and the party is left to the pressure of bravos and fanatics.

*November 22nd.*—Council at Windsor. I went down with Lord Emmott; Lord Morley failed to appear, and on reaching the Castle I found a telegram to the effect that he had encountered a motor smash near Wandsworth, which precluded his reaching Windsor in time. The services of Spencer and Stamfordham were, however, available. We did not stay for luncheon, and on our way to the station met Lord Morley, apparently none the worse for his mishap.

Emmott had just returned from his trip round the Empire with a party of Members of the Legislature. With a mind quickened by contact with all the problems of Empire, he refused to yield to any despondency. Obstacles in the path of progress, racial and economic, abound, but he believed that far-seeing prudence in the common interests of the white races would enable them to be overcome. The Indian crisis in South Africa was for the moment the most pressing, and there even the smallness of the differences between the two claims was in danger of being overlooked. He spoke with generous enthusiasm of the way in which labour troubles in Kimberley had been obviated by the sagacious policy originated by Rhodes and in the main pursued by his successors, and even the magnates of Johannesburg were awarded a meed of praise. New Zealand was the true home of the British race beyond the seas; there both social and climatic conditions left the type almost unaltered. The Canadians, to the superficial glance, hardly differed from the Americans, and Australia had developed a variant from the original stock altogether its own.

While I was discussing the arrangements for the next Council before Christmas, when Parliament would presumably be prorogued to the day it was expected to meet for the despatch of business, Stamfordham, whether inspired or merely expressing his own hopes, used language which more than hinted that the pathway to another Session of the present Parliament was strewn with obstacles. It may, of course, well be that by that time, particularly if the coming elections do not go favourably for the Administration, the King's pressure on Ministers will bear fruit in determining their hesitation to cut the Gordian knot by a dissolution. The curious feature of the present situation is its liability to be disturbed by the sudden shifting of the forces that hold it in unstable equilibrium, and those forces are themselves the creation of so many currents of opinion that it is impossible to predict their distribution from day to day.

*November 25th.*—According to Morant, whom I saw this morning, the administration of the Insurance Act has sunk absolutely to the level of a political machine. Masterman, who has

no higher ambition than to follow the lead of Lloyd George, stands as the exponent of methods which would flatter the effrontery of a party wire-puller. The demoralisation of the staff, almost wholly composed of young men, is extreme, and the office exists for little more than the progressive debasement of the Civil Service.

*November 28th.*—Information reached me to-day that, in view of increased tension in Ulster and the probability of resort being had shortly to training with firearms, the Attorney-General, with the approval of the Government, is preparing a Proclamation upon the coast-wise traffic in arms. It is pretty accurately known how many serviceable rifles are at the disposal of the Volunteers: they are of all patterns, involving the use of different types of ammunition, and great efforts are being made to augment the supply by the transmission of small consignments in every way open to the ingenuity of the consignee. The proposed Proclamation will be the first challenge to recalcitrant Ulster, and it appears to be thought that its reception will be a useful gauge of the spirit that lies behind the preparations for revolt.

*December 2nd.*—I heard from Lord Morley that all was in readiness for the issue of the Arms Proclamation, and that the King was to be asked to hold a Council at his earliest convenience. Accordingly I telegraphed to Stamfordham, and in an hour or two was in communication with him on the telephone. We were to leave London, on whatever day was fixed, at 12.20, have the Council at 4 p.m., and stay the night at Sandringham, and this arrangement was eventually accepted for Thursday.

*December 3rd.*—Far from finding the Attorney-General ready yesterday afternoon, he had left London for Hull in order to make a speech, and, though he had urged Lord Morley to avoid any delay, no one had been charged with the custody of his Cabinet papers, and nothing could be gleaned of the Proclamation. Things were not much better this morning, as the Solicitor of the Customs was still engaged in consultation with the Attorney-General on the settlement of the Draft, which had also been submitted to the Irish Government, whose reply was awaited. By dint of somewhat peremptory methods, I at last got one of the Proclamations and had the promise of the other by four o'clock, so that the task of having them engrossed on parchment could be proceeded with.

*December 4th.*—On our way down to Sandringham Lord Morley expressed disapproval of the action taken by the Cabinet. His plan would have been to have prosecuted Carson some time ago, and he believed a conviction might have been obtained. But Birrell scoffed at the whole business as play-acting, and was quite easy in his mind that nothing would come of it. Now Lord Morley thinks, whatever the result, an effort should be made

towards conciliation. He took this line at the last Cabinet, and proposed that the Prime Minister should write to Bonar Law, in terms intended for publication, inviting him to a conference. In this he had the strenuous support of Winston Churchill, Lloyd George appearing to have been the principal protagonist on the other side. Lord Morley admitted that Redmond was doing his utmost to deter Ministers from entering upon a colloquy with the Opposition leaders, and so important did he deem it, that he sent Dillon to Wimbledon to urge his case in person, which he did at great length and with his customary vehemence. Lord Morley owned to have been surprised at the stiffness of Asquith's attitude at Leeds, and believed that he had left his colleagues with the intention of reaffirming the Ladybank overtures. The atmosphere, however, of the West Riding is strongly opposed to any deviation from Home Rule principles of the most thorough type, and it might be that the Prime Minister was carried beyond his first intention by the ferment around him, difficult as it is to reconcile this explanation with Asquith's complete self-command.

Lord Morley now views the prospect of negotiations very gloomily. The Government, the Opposition leaders, Redmond himself, are all hampered by external influences which make against compromise, and with every day the thrall of these influences becomes stronger. There are no less than fifty Liberals who would vote with Redmond if he declined to accept any compact which the Government were ready to make with the Opposition. Lord Lansdowne and Bonar Law had already given hostages to fortune in the shape of the encouragement enjoyed by Ulster; Redmond has to show that he can get more for Ireland than O'Brien, and at the same time avert being over-trumped by Devlin; and so all the possible contributors to a solution are caught in the vicious circle of these antecedents. There is no more disconcerting irony than that offered by the bewilderment of a philosopher whom circumstances have betrayed.

We found ourselves put up at Park House, where the major part of the male staff are housed. The rooms are all very comfortable, and the view much prettier than that obtainable from the Hall or York Cottage. The King was not ready for the Council till 4.30, when we motored down to the Cottage with Stamfordham and W. Carington. After it was over Lord Morley and I had tea with the King and Queen, where all stiffness and formality were thrown aside, Prince and Princess Arthur of Connaught completing the party. The King wanted to know if I danced the *tango*, upon which I said I hoped His Majesty was not going to ask me to show him the steps.

We returned to Park House at 5.30, and at 8.30 obeyed the Royal Summons to dinner. The tea-party was then reinforced by Lady Mary Trefusis, Mademoiselle Dusseau, the French

governess, Charlie Fitzmaurice, and Fritz Ponsonby. It was very pleasant, and there was no lack of conversation, some of it general. Lord Morley and the Queen seemed to get on remarkably well. When Her Majesty withdrew the King deprecated the land campaign. Many of his observations were just enough, but he perhaps went too far in treating the Sandringham estate as if it was typical of the conditions of landed property generally. However, in speaking to Lord Morley, he was addressing one convinced, for he is of those who regard the English proprietary system as on the whole creditable to the rural landlords, and not otherwise than beneficial to the rural population. He knows too well the value of comparative criticism to be moved by Lloyd George's hasty generalisations and angry surmises. After dinner the King took Lord Morley away to discuss high politics. On entering the drawing-room the Queen motioned to me to take a seat next her, and I had quite fifty minutes' conversation, which disposed me to think very favourably of her judgment, information, and intelligence, while her kindness and courtesy were beyond praise. I must add that the little Princess Mary, who came in after tea, had a charming manner and looked a quick and good-tempered child.

When we got back to Park House Lord Morley insisted on Fritz Ponsonby playing the piano, while he smoked a cigarette: he said his musical taste had its preferences, but excluded nothing. Ponsonby accordingly gave us what he could, playing by heart from an extensive repertory on a piano extremely out of tune. He wound up with a piece from an English disciple of Debussy, for which, as he observed, being largely compounded of discords, the condition of the instrument mattered less.

*December 5th.*—We left Sandringham at 7.50 a.m., the uplands quite white with snow, a bleak outlook. However, we had wisely not postponed breakfast for the G.E.R. restaurant car, and our reserved carriage reached the station properly warmed, which relieved my fear of the effects of such an early start in cold weather upon my rather frail companion. He seemed, on the contrary, particularly lively, and regaled me with information on various points.

Talking of political biographies led to some speculation when the Life of Sir W. Harcourt, upon which his son is supposed to be engaged, would see the light. " There are two men upon which Loulou will lay a heavy hand," said Lord Morley, " Rosebery and myself." He then told me, what I had never before realised, that he was one of the most important agents in the transaction by which Lord Rosebery succeeded Mr. Gladstone in 1894. So strongly did Sir W. Harcourt feel at the time that, immediately after the thing was complete, he said, raising his hand almost with a gesture of menace, " This is your work, John Morley ! "

There never was a Cabinet which concealed so many bitter enmities as Lord Rosebery's shortlived adventure.

*December 6th.*—In resuming the impressions of a somewhat crowded week I must not omit the record of a very pleasant dinner we had at home on Tuesday. Sir Arthur and Lady Nicolson, Sir A. and Lady Edmonstone, the Pitt-Rivers, Sir W. Garstin, Sir A. Bannerman, and Miss Rachel Forster. The last-named is only just out, not yet eighteen, and, with one or two exceptions, we were all old enough to be her parents, yet she fitted into the party with consummate success and was one of its most attractive elements. She has rare gifts of thought and language, which she handles with a graceful diffidence beyond all praise. Her mother's charm will at least survive a generation.

*December 12th.*—It may be no more than a coincidence—though I am inclined to attach to it deeper significance. Yesterday the editor of "The Times" came by night, like Nicodemus—that is to say, at five o'clock—to see Lord Morley, remaining with him a considerable time. This morning an authoritative announcement appears in his journal that leaders on either side have already met in conference. A curious feature in the business is that Bonar Law, speaking at Carnarvon last night, obviously knew nothing about it, and indeed referred to the outlook as distinctly worse. However, the urgency which Lord Morley claimed for some such *démarche* leads me to think that either he or a colleague in his confidence has taken the decisive step of opening informal negotiations, and the fact that the Cabinet are to meet again on Monday affords the idea some corroboration, as it had been supposed that no further meetings would be held before the Christmas holidays. Lord Morley's courage is certainly equal to such a stroke, and no man but he could venture to assume the Prime Minister's acquiescence in its results, whatever they may be.

I have received "Notes on Politics and History" from the illustrious author, with a gratifying inscription on the flyleaf. Full of ripe wisdom and sage counsel, and packed with the *dicta* of past judgment and eloquence, it holds the scales firmly between optimism and despair.

It appears that the statement in "The Times" a few days ago rested on the fact that Lord Morley had met Austen Chamberlain dining with Winston, and there is no question that whatever passed had the countenance of the Prime Minister. Lord Morley paid a remarkable tribute to his fine imperturbability, *mens æqua in arduis*, which was not insensibility or cold-bloodedness, but the measured assignment of events to their true causes.

*December 19th.*—Council for the prorogation of Parliament to the day (February 10th) on which it is summoned for the despatch of business. The Lord President, Beauchamp, Knollys,

and Lord Welby were present. Lord Justice Phillimore and Mr. Munro, the new Lord Advocate, were sworn in. Of Munro Lord Kinnear was asked whether he had a good grip of things. His reply was, " He has a good *nip* of them."

## 1914

*January 9th.*—A good deal of surprise was caused by the peerage conferred on Cripps, a distinguished member of the Opposition. It now appears that he is destined to strengthen the Lords of Appeal, and the Lord Chancellor, overlooking the fact that his name had not been submitted to the King for the additional honour of the Privy Council, pressed Lord Morley to obtain His Majesty's consent to a Council before the 17th, when a case stands for hearing by the Judicial Committee at which Cripps is wanted to assist. The King naturally took some umbrage at his consent being left out of the arrangement, and Lord Morley had to play the scapegoat for the casual way in which it had been omitted to tell His Majesty the full reason for Cripps's removal from the House of Commons. Lord Morley did this with his customary grace and good feeling, but it is not fair that he should suffer the inconvenience of such oversights.

*January 19th.*—Lord Morley passed a most emphatic condemnation on Lloyd George's indiscretion in communicating to a pressman his views on the naval crisis. The Prime Minister had described it as " heedless folly," to which Lord Morley replied that the folly was so flagrant it was difficult to believe it heedless. Few, perhaps, better illustrate Retz's aphorism, " No one goes so far as the man who does not know where he is going." In this case, moreover, he had no excuse for his attitude, as Winston, on no less than three occasions in the House of Commons in the course of last Session, had indicated what he would require, and in each case the language used embodied the considered judgment of the Prime Minister, Sir E. Grey, and Lloyd George himself. It was therefore a proof of incurable levity or strange forgetfulness. He has, however, been properly chastised. On one occasion, when he tried to go back upon an agreement to which he had subscribed the previous day, a scene of some violence ensued. The tempest was assuaged by the Prime Minister, who, in Lord Morley's Virgilian phrase, " threw dust upon the insects."

At an interview Lord Morley had with Winston he told him frankly, from the knowledge of him he had gained at the Committee of Defence, he was an extravagant and wasteful Minister; to which his reply was, " I am sorry you think so, but I daresay I am."

Lord Morley has been seeing a great deal of representative Irishmen lately with a view to advising the Cabinet whether

there is any way out of the present deadlock. The omens are not encouraging, as he is assured that, if Carson came to terms with the Government, his janissaries would refuse to be bound by any curtailment of their liberty of action. Hard knocks would inevitably ensue, and the Catholics outside Ulster would retaliate on the Protestant population. Redmond was in the same fix as Carson, without his resolution.

The Royal Commission resumed its sittings this afternoon with the evidence of Major Gibbard, the head of the Army Hospital, in Rochester Row. Canon Horsley's examination was again marked by puerile vanity and inconsequent fumblings.

*January* 21*st*.—Council at Windsor 4.30 for swearing in Lord Parmoor (Sir A. Cripps) and creating three new sees, Sheffield, Chelmsford, and Suffolk, for which purpose the Archbishop of Canterbury was summoned. I also took Hopwood, as I rightly guessed that the King would like to have a talk with him at this crisis in the fortunes of the Admiralty. Fleetwood Wilson and Mr. Dickinson also accompanied us to be sworn in, and we found Allendale and Stamfordham there. The Royal Party had only arrived an hour before, and the Castle was dreadfully cold. Tea was very pleasant, as the Ladies-in-Waiting were Lady Ampthill and Lady Mary Trefusis. I sat by the former, Lord Morley being on the other side, and the Archbishop took refuge between the Maids of Honour. After tea I asked Lady Ampthill to present me to Miss Venetia Baring, the senior of the two, whose serene and dignified grace became her well. Charles Cust was on duty for the first time since his recovery after ninety days in bed! He had gone to pieces terribly, but is now picking up well.

*January* 29*th*.—I saw Lord Methuen this evening, whose opinion on South African affairs is worth hearing. He had no doubt that Botha had gone too far with his last *coup*. The success of his action in breaking the back of the strike had been so complete that anything like vindictiveness in dealing with the leaders was much to be regretted. The outcry, however, in this country is as ill-considered as the step which provoked it. In granting self-government to South Afriea, we accepted the inevitable consequences of Boer Government, and cannot complain if Boer ideas of dealing with industrial disputes belong to the past.

*February* 3*rd*.—Lord Morley was at Hackwood for Sunday, and seems to have enjoyed many aspects of the party, but confessed to being greatly fatigued. Among Curzon's titles to admiration he always puts his qualities as host very high. Bonar Law was there, the Desboroughs, Pembrokes, Horners, and others, including E. Gosse and Whibley. Lord Morley found in Lady Pembroke the most attractive figure of the party, and was much impressed by her charm, intelligence, and general cultivation. Whibley he seems to have liked, but had little knowledge of his

contributions to current criticism, having missed his occasional *causeries* on literary subjects in "The Pall Mall Gazette." Fortunately, one on the "Tentation de S. Antoine" of Flaubert appeared this evening, which I was able to show him.

Whispers reach one of a possible settlement of the Irish difficulty on lines suggested by Horace Plunkett, with, it is added, the assent of Carson, reserving to Ulster the right to secede from the Home Rule organisation after a period as yet undefined; but I cannot satisfy myself that there is warrant for confidence, or even hopefulness in such connection. The Government would, I believe, give large powers of veto, but so far these have not been discussed in any detail.

*February 5th.*—Last night, by Lord Morley's desire, I dined with the Clothworkers Company in connection with the ceremony, which had just taken place, of the induction of himself and Bryce as Honorary Members of the Company. The dinner was a good one, and the wine was unexceptionable; indeed, the port was so alluring that a Member of Parliament seated on my left was induced to drink more than was wanted to cure his cold. I had Gerald Balfour on the other side, which pleased me well, as he has many of the personal gifts which distinguish the family, and is by no means wanting in urbanity. The speeches were excellent in matter; in spite of growing mechanical difficulties of delivery, Lord Morley had some wise and salutary reflections to make on the folly of impatience and the disappointment that was sure to wait upon the discovery of panaceas. He quoted with approbation the recent invocation of the Dean of St. Paul's to "listen to the silent," which he said enshrined a great truth, and invited us to find security in ascertaining the views of the people who did not talk. Lord Bryce had an excellent theme, in the appropriation of the Company's revenues for a defence of such corporations whose later development had shown what could be done by adapting old institutions to new uses. A false note was struck by Peel in proposing the health of the Master. Referring to his being called upon to speak without preparation, he made a sarcastic allusion to the sheaf of notes Lord Morley, who was sitting by him, had used, and could not keep out of his speech ebullitions of party bias. It was all the more unfortunate as no one could have detected the least trace of it in anything said by the principal speakers, and Gerald Balfour more than once turned to me with the remark, "He had better not have said that."

Before dinner Lord Morley told me the changes in the Ministry, which would shortly be made. It appears that Sydney Buxton is destined to succeed Herbert Gladstone, whereupon John Burns will go to the Board of Trade; Samuel takes the Local Government Board, to be succeeded at the Post Office by Hobhouse, thus

making room at the Duchy of Lancaster for Lloyd George's client, Masterman.

*February 7th.*—I cannot let the week expire without a word on Lord Knutsford, who was buried on Monday at the same hour as a memorial service was held to do him honour at the Temple Church. It is more than twenty-eight years ago that I became his Private Secretary, serving in that capacity from September 1885 to January 1886, and again from June 1886 to February 1887. The ties of friendship then formed were never broken, and I look back with satisfaction on the many opportunities I since enjoyed of confirming the impression I had of him, as a courtly, upright, capable, and single-hearted gentleman.

*February 9th.*—Council in connection with the approval of the King's Speech, a document remarkable for the solemn adjuration it contained to both parties to unite in a measure of Irish pacification. The King was, I understand, extremely pleased with the paragraph in question—just what he would have himself proposed. Harcourt, the Lord President, Granard, and Lucas attended. Talking of the coming changes in the Cabinet, Harcourt explained that Masterman was going to the Duchy because that arrangement would leave him able to continue his superintendence of the Insurance Act free from any contact with the Treasury!

*February 10th.*—We dined last night with Hubert Jerningham and met the Comte and Comtesse de Montholon, of the French Embassy, Lady Fingall, the Lorillards, and others. I had the Comtesse de Montholon in charge, who had all the agreeable qualities of her race. Lady Fingall had a good deal to say about the present position in Ireland. Herself a warm-hearted Irishwoman from the west, Catholic, and with a lively love of Ireland as a whole, she was able to look at things from a more detached point of view than is common with her class. Close friendship, too, with Horace Plunkett, and a thorough sympathy with his ideas, had given her much insight into the situation.

*February 11th.*—I had some conversation with Lord Morley this afternoon. He bore signs of great exhaustion from yesterday's effort,[1] which I hear was marked by more than usual physical disability, though the spirit was quite unconquered. He ennobles the subject by a conscious gravity of treatment and a prescient insight into its permanent conditions, illustrating to a very high degree his own luminous declaration that "tolerance means reverence for all the possibilities of truth."

We had a dinner-party of twelve: the Malmesburys, George Peel and Lady Agnes, the Forsters, Lady Mountgarret, Hugh Godley, and H. Montgomery. A conspicuously pleasant and successful evening. George Peel and Hugh Godley combine

[1] Debate on the Address.

exceptional ability with marked social gifts; indeed, George Peel is one of the most incisive and interesting conversationalists I know, while Harry Forster adorns the distinction he has won in politics by his freedom from prejudice and his generous outlook. Few people create an admirable effect with so little conscious effort as Mrs. Forster. If Novalis is right in describing character as a completely fashioned will, she bears the stamp of this accomplishment.

*February 12th.*—We had a Council this morning called in twenty-four hours for the completion of the changes in the Ministry consequent on Buxton's retirement.

Lord Morley told me, before we left the Palace, that Carson's speech last night had powerfully contributed to an accommodation. The mildness of Redmond—"his tears will come later"—was also a favourable omen. On the other hand, there is a strong disposition among the Unionists in the rest of Ireland to look upon the exclusion of Ulster as a betrayal of their interests. However, if Carson's invitation to Redmond to win Ulster over was anything more than a rhetorical artifice, the Unionist minority will be the hostages in Redmond's hands by the treatment of whom he will be called upon to show his good faith.

*February 17th.*—Last night we dined with the Malmesburys to meet Princess Henry of Battenberg: the Selbornes, Monsons, Enfields, Lady Winchester, Claud Hamilton, Tom Egerton and Lady Bertha, Lady Calthorpe, Verneys, and others. I had Lady Monson with me at dinner, who is always pleasant and lively, and afterwards I had a protracted talk with Lady Selborne. She told me that the first instalment of Lady Guendolen's Life of Lord Salisbury, bringing it up to 1867, was complete, and would appear before the rest. Selborne was very solemn, as if his own impressions of himself had grown too weighty to be trifled with.

At luncheon with the Pitt-Rivers I met Lady Cromer, who gave rather a poor account of Lord Cromer's strength: it is not perhaps surprising that vitality should wane after the prodigious labours of his invaluable life.

*February 18th.*—I had a long talk with Lord Morley this afternoon, whose apprehensions seem somewhat vividly awake; he is much impressed by the coolness, patience, and power of the Prime Minister, whose wish, I believe, is to make known the proposals of the Government upon Ireland at the earliest opportunity. He did not think much of Frederic Harrison's contribution, and less of his invoking the bones of his Ulster grandfather. "What," said Lord Morley, "would *he* think of him? Comtist, atheistic philosopher, and lay head of the Positivist Church." Harrison had expressed a wish to see him, but said that politics must be barred, to which Lord Morley replied he would probably gain useful information by talking politics with him, instead of listening to half-pay colonels at Bath.

He was much interested to hear that Shane Leslie was writing a Life of Manning as a counterblast to Purcell, and had in his hands Manning's note-book on cases of conscience submitted to his judgment while still in the Anglican Church, in which communications from Mr. Gladstone, who seems to have treated him as his director, were frequent. He recalled Mr. Gladstone's vivid resentment at Purcell's book. Mr. Gladstone asked him and Lord Acton down to Hawarden in order to discuss it with them, but when he appealed to Lord Acton, that great man said he had not read the book, which Lord Morley regarded as a proof of the valuable training he had reeeived from the Doctors of his Church. Lord Morley also felt able to excuse himself on the score of no great familiarity with the subject, though, when he was Chief Secretary for Ireland, he had reason to know the powerful control exercised by Manning on the Irish parliamentary forces. It was largely owing to him that the Irish Members were retained at Westminster under the provision of the second Home Rule Bill. "I cannot spare one of them," was Manning's emphatic phrase.

My own experience may be quoted to the same end. In 1889, when Technical Education claimed public notice, a Bill on the subject was introduced by Lord Salisbury's Government, which included the allocation of rates to the purpose, thus raising the thorny question of rate-aid to voluntary schools. Lord Salisbury was kept in office by the votes of Liberal Unionists, a large section of whom were "unsound" on the point, while the Irish Catholics, whose support in ordinary times might have been taken for granted, were smarting under the defeat of the Home Rule Bill and the coercivc measures of the Irish Executive. The influence of the great Cardinal had to be invoked, and Sir William Dyke, who was in charge of the Bill, entrusted the negotiations to me, at that time his Private Secretary. Two or three interviews followed, in the course of which the Cardinal required an assurance that, granted the support of the Irish parliamentary group, the Government would insist upon the clean application of the principle and refuse amendments which compromised it. This assurance I was ultimately permitted to give, and upon the committee stage of the Bill, which occupied an all-night sitting, the Irish voted with the Government in every division, and the Bill was in due course placed on the Statute Book.

Manning's methods as a negotiator were as clear-cut, as perfectly moulded, as his magnificent features. Tried by fifty years of conflict, and tempered by the practice of indomitable resolution, his candour and courtesy never left his objects a moment in doubt, his remote gaze took in the harvest his Church was to gather in years he would not see, his intrepid spirit sensed neither delay nor defeat, while animation of soul brought to the surface the energy of inflexible purpose. I was never in closer

touch with that magnetism of will which draws to a dominant note the finest accords of character. After the lapse of five-and-twenty years the vivid and imperious call of these interviews is as fresh as ever.

*February 25th.*—Bonar Law's speech last night has not enhanced his reputation. The Prime Minister described it as no less violent than usual, but more commonplace. It is his misfortune that he cannot make it hot for his opponents without lapses from parliamentary decorum, as if he were trying to emulate a leading Member of the Government.

*March 4th.*—The negotiations respecting the House of Lords Committee on Lord Murray's share in the Marconi transactions have taken an unexpected turn by the acceptance of a place on the Committee by Lord Loreburn, notwithstanding the fact that in the first instance he gave reasons for not joining so good as to impress Lord Halsbury himself to the extent of feeling some scruple about his own share in it. This, I take it, will remove Desart's objection to serving, which he only agreed to do on the condition that the Liberal Peers were adequately represented. This is now secured, as Lord Charnwood has also accepted the invitation. The Opposition will then have emerged from the difficulty with more credit than at first seemed possible.

Lord Morley, without going into details, told me that the scheme of concession to be offered to Ulster was comprehensive in outline and far-reaching in detail. Under pressure from the Government, Redmond, Dillon, T. P. O'Connor, and Devlin were all committed to its acceptance, a result which a fortnight ago the best-informed would have deemed impossible. So far, the omens were not favourable to its being welcomed by the Opposition; their present tactics seemed to depend on keeping the resistance of Ulster alive, in the hope of using it as an effective electoral weapon, but Lord Morley considered that the concessions the Government were prepared to make would impress public opinion as an honest and adequate effort to bring about the desired accommodation. No decision would of course be reached on Monday, when the Prime Minister is to make his statement; the ensuing fortnight would be devoted to deliberations pending the resumption of the second reading debate. Much, he thought, rested on the tone of Bonar Law's speech in reply to the Prime Minister: he trusted it might not be of a character that would draw Redmond prematurely into the fray.

Healy's name for Devlin, who is very small, is a "duodecimo Demosthenes."

*March 7th.*—The Lord President's dinner for settling the Roll of Sheriffs took plaee last night at the Carlton Hotel, ten members of the Cabinet being present and Lord Lincolnshire. I had Burns and J. Pease on either side. Burns appears to feel himself more

*National Portrait Gallery. Photo of Watts' picture by Fred. Hollyer.*

CARDINAL MANNING.

at home at the Board of Trade, and is pleased with the variety of interests it controls. He keeps a diary which seems to be a systematic record of his official and political experience, no doubt written with candour and discrimination. He regretted that upon the proceedings of Cabinets he was perforce silent. I said, "I suppose that does not prevent treating your colleagues frankly?" "No," he said, "and there is one of them of whom I have said exactly what I think," looking significantly across the table. Arising out of the mention of the longest walk he ever took in his life, he gave me a very simple and sincere account of an incident in some early courtship. He was only eighteen at the time. A girl called Mary Shelley, said to be an illegitimate descendant of the poet, was in service at Sir H. Fleteher's, in Sussex. John Burns came from London to give her a day out, presented her with the best bouquet of flowers he could find, took her to Arundel and Littlehampton, where they went on the sea, and finally, after he had entertained her right royally, found he had barely a shilling with which to get back to London. He was too proud to ask for a loan, and, spending the shilling on such little refreshment as he could carry with him, started to walk to London, a distance of more than sixty miles, which he succeeded in accomplishing in time to resume his work at the proper hour the following day.

After the business had been concluded a very interesting discussion arose on the effect of the Committee of Imperial Defence, first, in equipping the country for the business of war, and, secondly, in diminishing Cabinet responsibility, if it had not absolutely undermined the authority of that body when questions of peace and war were involved. Winston Churchill argued the case for the C.I.D. with a wealth of knowledge and illustration. No one, of course, could deny the immense utility of the Committee in improving the machinery of preparation, but there was evidently some jealousy on the part of those Cabinet Ministers, who were not on the Committee, of the preponderant influence which membership gave to certain members in Council. Samuel and Runciman voiced this feeling, and Lord Morley had to admit the Committee was virtually supreme upon the issues with which it dealt. It had not made a war yet, but the experience of 1911 showed that it easily might. At that time no Cabinets met, Lord Morley was in Scotland, and I received and acted upon instructions conveyed by the Secretary of State for War, with the assumed concurrence of the Prime Minister.

Winston had a great deal to say on the advantage of the present system in bringing the lay heads of the Army and Navy into touch with the practical problems of war and defenee; nor did he think the country incurred any risks of a warlike policy being pursued in consequence. Ministers who understood were far

less likely to plunge a country into war than a populace which merely felt. The C.I.D. was a bulwark against rancour and passion, seeking as it did to elucidate the perplexities of the most tangled situation by the cold light of scientific scrutiny.

In the course of dinner we had one Birrellism which is worth noting. Winston had said that no day of the Session passed without his having half an hour's talk in the House of Commons with Lloyd George, upon which Birrell: "In that case neither of you can be easily bored."

John Burns attended in full dress, as he was going on to the Court. His entrance into the room was hailed by his host with the words, "The apparition of triumphant democracy."

*March 9th.*—Lord Morley told me that the editor of "The Times" had been given to understand that the chances of a settlement were not hopeless. I asked him whether he felt satisfied that the Government's scheme of exclusion would work. "Well," he said with a whimsical smile, "it will take a good deal of soap, if that is what you mean."

There was the usual Council this morning for the "pricking" of the Sheriffs. Lord Lincolnshire, Granard, Wimborne, and C. Hobhouse attended. The Lord President found His Majesty annoyed with the Admiralty for not having let him know till Saturday evening anything about their intention to create a new grade of "Lieutenant Commanders." Lord Morley was quite ready, if the King wished to postpone the Order to a later Council, but would not advise it unless His Majesty felt very strongly on the subject. Finally it went through, the King informing Lord Morley that he had written very forcibly to the First Lord and Prince Louis of Battenberg condemning their neglect.

*March 10th.*—After a curious game of cross-purposes the "Murray" Committee in the House of Lords has been constituted.

Some of the small fry of the Administration are very indignant with Lord Loreburn for taking part in it. Any independence of party tyranny is abhorrent to them. Runciman's frigid insignificance was stirred to the use of the word "traitor."

We dined with the Forsters last night; in the absence of Mrs. Forster, the younger daughter took her place with marvellous tact and distinction. Harry Forster and Willie Bridgeman, both straight from the House of Commons, were clearly of opinion that no amicable solution was to be expected from the Prime Minister's statement. Forster's judgment is so calm and sober that I am disposed to attach the greatest weight to his conviction, but if it is merely a question of the conditions under which the exclusion of parts of Ulster may or may not be brought to an end in six years' time, the point appears too infinitesimal on which to take the risks of civil war. The language of Carson

and Healy seems this morning to give colour to such a supposition. If, moreover, a General Election at once would satisfy the Opposition, it seems unnecessary to quarrel with the Prime Minister's offer of two General Elections before the position of Ulster can be changed for the worse.

At Lady Cairns's dance last night I fell among the Ulster stalwarts, as I took Lady Ranfurly in to supper and had Lady Plunket on my other side.

*March 17th.*—Lord Morley deplored Winston's Bradford speech and denied emphatically that it was dictated by Cabinet exigencies. He took particular exception to the phrase "there are worse things than bloodshed," which he described as "a platitude, and worse, a Tory platitude." The subject cropped up at luncheon in Downing Street, when the Prime Minister instanced the enthusiasm with which the speech was received, and the cheers with which Winston was greeted in the House of Commons, as a proof that it corresponded to the feelings of the party. Lord Morley reminded them that a great Prime Minister, who once lived in that house, on being told of the popular delirium with which the declaration of war had been welcomed, replied, "They are ringing the bells now, but in no long time they will be wringing their hands." He went on to say, so he told me, "You may talk as you like of bloodshed, but I venture to say this, that the first blood shed in Ireland, not in mere civil commotion, but in conflict between the Ulster Volunteers and the forces of the Crown, will mean the end of Home Rule." Such a declaration from such a source has tremendous significance, but will it have much effect? The fact is, the citadel of reason suffers violence and the violent take it by force. Passions which for two years it has been the work of politicians on both sides to kindle cannot be allayed by a few pacific sentences in a speech. To make conciliation possible, vituperative energy must be banned and exercises in the terms of political abuse avoided. The atmosphere of the West Riding seems fatal to the considerate treatment of the Irish problem.

*March 19th.*—The Speaker's box at the House of Commons was the scene of a violent altercation between a great lady connected with the North of Ireland and a member of the Prime Minister's family. The Speaker expressed his profound regret for the incident, and promised to do what he could to prevent its repetition. He concluded with a piece of humour calculated to disarm resentment, for he said "he was so busy with the fiends below, he had hardly time to occupy himself with the angels above." I hear to-day he has taken every security for the preservation of peace by placing his Marshal in charge, with directions to police the box.

*March 21st.*—Last night we dined with George Cunningham

at a banquet of the Liberal Colonial Club, under the presidency of the Lord Chancellor, after which Sir F. Pollock gave us an erudite disquisition on Imperial Jurisdiction. A halting and prolix style interfered with the effect of his learning, but he had much that was interesting to say. Haldane followed, and contributed a penetrating and luminous discourse upon the application of the historic method to the evolution of legal science, illustrating his argument by copious references to Privy Council practice, to the richness and diversity of which he called me to witness. Professor Morgan then spoke to a vote of thanks, and made perhaps the best speech of the evening. At the end Dunedin added a few words which in concision and wit left nothing to be desired. Altogether an entertaining and instructive evening.

*March 23rd.*—It looks as if the Irish crisis had been precipitated by Seely's impatience to prove the readiness of the Army to obey orders and some little diplomatic failure on Arthur Paget's part in ascertaining the disposition of officers. The Cabinet was hurriedly summoned to meet this morning, before which I had some conversation with Lord Morley. The situation was much as he expected after Winston Churchill's speech; its effect had been aggravated a thousandfold by Lloyd George's lurid oratory on Saturday. Seely, though an excellent fellow in many ways, was not a Socrates, and to choose such a moment for the defensive movement of troops struck Lord Morley as unwise, for it was sure to bring to a head the question of their willingness to serve against the Ulster Volunteers. The extreme weakness of the Irish Executive, for which he believed there was no precedent in Irish history, was full of danger. Aberdeen was undecided; his action, or inaction, was alike a challenge to criticism; the Law Force at Dublin Castle was steeped in ineffectiveness; the Under-Secretary was worn out, and seeking relief; while Neville Chamberlain, the Head of the Constabulary, was of no great use in his special department.

Aberdeen must, he thought, go, and a purge be applied to the whole Administration, which wanted men of wider instinct and critical judgment: it is no time for thinking of people's nervous systems, he said. He likes Lord Aberdeen well personally, but has too close a knowledge of his singular paralysis in moments of difficulty to trust him at such a juncture. It appears that in 1892 he told Mr. Gladstone, much to his surprise, that he would only go to the Irish Office on the express condition that Aberdeen was not Lord-Lieutenant, as Mr. Gladstone intended.

*March 24th.*—From private information which reaches me, the account given by Seely of the transactions with the Curragh officers, and more or less repeated by the Prime Minister and the Lord President, is not correct. There is no doubt, it is said, that the officers concerned understood that their employment in

active operations against the Ulster Volunteers was imminent, and the choice given them, subject to certain reserves, between submission and dismissal.

It is, moreover, the case, I am told, that Gough returns to Ireland with an unconditional assurance that he and those under him will not be so employed, and on these terms they consented to regard the incident as closed. The immediate effect on the Government's plans and the permanent relations between the Executive and the Army is obvious.

The mischief, so far as the Government is concerned, is that the whole story must in a few days be clear to the most unwilling eyes. Their cardinal error throughout has been that they never made up their minds, first, whether in the last resort they would coerce Ulster, and, secondly, whether they were able to do so. Owing to maladroit manipulation, the instrument has now broken in their hands before they were ready to use it, and they will be forced to adopt the alternative, with which hitherto they have only played, of coming to terms with the malcontents. Ulster controls the situation, and, it would seem, the fate of the Ministry.

Seely saw Lord Morley this morning, but was not successful in removing his apprehensions or diminishing his scruples. After luncheon Haldane was with him for an hour and a quarter, as in Lucas's absence it will devolve upon him to explain the Secretary of State for War. Lord Morley will promise that this shall be done to-morrow, and meanwhile will insist upon the adjournment of the debate on Midleton's motion.

*March 25th.*—If the events of the last few days had happened in Spain they would be described as the capitulation to a *pronunciamiento*. Seely piteously confesses, "I am sacrificed to save the Army." Of course he goes, but the critics of the Cabinet will not be satisfied till the responsibility of Winston Churchill is brought out, which can easily be established by the wireless messages to the Fleet and their subsequent revocation. Seely and he had been given the direction of the necessary military measures. Lord Crewe was associated with them to act as a watch-dog, but unhappily he had to take ten days' rest, which gave them a free hand, the result of which we now know.

The shock to the Prime Minister has been terrible. George Murray was with him on Sunday, and never saw him so overcome. The folly of having created such a situation, without the power to handle it successfully, is incalculable. Sir J. French, who has stood by them most resolutely, has had his prevision amply justified. Some weeks ago an official sent in his papers, offering as the reason that he would not be called upon to serve against Ulster. French wished to have him tried by court martial, an act of energy which Seely declined, with the support of the Cabinet, to sanction.

The plea of the Government that nothing considerable was intended is belied by the fact that an officer of standing was a few days ago sent over to Ireland, with two juniors, to organise an Intelligence Department, and has been working, as I saw by a letter under his own hand, fourteen hours a day since he got there. The White Paper issued this morning is a miserable document of shifts and gaps; an explanation that will have to be much explained. It is obviously an essay, and a clumsy one, in apologetics.

The astonishing feature of the whole case is that it should be the work of a single man. It is no disparagement to Winston's extraordinary qualities to say that his judgment is not quite equal to his abilities, nor his abilities quite equal to his ambitions. His defect is that he sees everything through the magnifying-glass of his self-confidence. As for his colleagues, he has, I think, a genuine respect for Lord Morley, a formal one for the Prime Minister, a distrustful apprehension of Lloyd George, and indifference for the rest.

*March 28th.*—The error into which the papers have fallen as to Lord Morley's responsibility for the paragraphs added without the knowledge of the Cabinet to the Memo. of the Army Council is easily explained. When he had to make his statement on Tuesday he asked Seely for a note of what he was going to say in order to reproduce its substance as accurately as possible. In this note he found it claimed by Seely that the paragraphs in question had been drawn in consultation with him, and he accepted the description, though as a matter of fact his liability merely covered an opinion, after a hasty perusal, that they did not in substance go beyond the measure of the Cabinet's agreement. Taking the document as it stood, they did not in fact exceed a more emphatic, because more concise, restatement of the position assumed in the earlier part of the Memo., and, if it had not been for Gough's second communication, they would probably have attracted no great notice. Unfortunately, however, when the Memo. was returned to the War Office for incorporation in the White Paper, Gough's communication had been received, and the decision to include it in the White Paper involved its appearance immediately before the Memo., and in default of any explanation, which might easily have been inserted in a foot-note, led to the impression that the two formed part of an improper bargain.

The impression was aggravated by the omission from Seely's speech of all mention of Lord Morley's complicity: he never uses notes and had, it is believed, entirely forgotten what he had given Lord Morley when the time came to make his own statement.

The subsequent proceedings of Ministers have given to the whole transaction the character of a shuffling imbecility.

When the Prime Minister made his statement last night it was left uncertain whether French and Ewart would persist with their resignations. The public, having ceased to look for self-respect in Cabinet Ministers, are curious to see whether it is still retained as part of the moral equipment of distinguished soldiers. Bonar Law made a grave mistake in charging Asquith with having mutilated the case in his communication to "The Times" last Monday. He did not say that officers had not been asked whether in certain contingencies they would obey orders, but that such a question should not be put to them.

*March 30th.*—Council at Buckingham Palace, mainly for routine business. Lord President, Lords Knollys, Colebrooke, and Emmott. Lord Morley told me French and Ewart were considering Haldane's formula, which, its author flattered himself, might still bridge the gulf between Ministers and their military advisers. It had given a great deal of enjoyment to the Chancellor, but Lord Morley was sceptical of any result. "Seely," I said, "could not of course stay." "Few think so," he replied, "but I must go too." "Surely," I said, "your alleged complicity with Seely is capable of the simplest explanation." "Yes," he rejoined, "but I may wish to go for reasons of my own; the occasion is one for some scruple." He told me that Seely had been savagely treated by certain of his colleagues, and he seemed to wish to lessen his fall by sharing it. As we neared the Palace we passed a squad of the Guards. "Are they our masters, do you think?" he observed, and then with great solemnity he added, "It was a most atrocious act of Winston when he wound up that speech with the declaration that the issue lay between the Army and the people. Can you be surprised that I, who think, and try to think correctly, desire to cut myself off from association with such language, and those that use it?" It was most impressive, being called, as it were, to witness the moral indignation of so great a mind.

The King he found less disturbed than he expected; the gravity of the occasion imposed a certain reticence on all but the most reckless. He complained, however, that when Stamfordham saw the Prime Minister, charged with a personal communication from His Majesty, Winston had coolly remained in the room and the Prime Minister had not remonstrated. To that Lord Morley said of course there was no reply, and on my saying that most of the mischief arose from the reluctance of Asquith to be master in his own house, he sombrely acquiesced.

It is all the more extraordinary that upon Seely's resignation, which with those of French and Ewart was announced this afternoon, the Prime Minister declared his intention to become his own War Minister. What, then, will befall the functions of the Premier?

*March* 31*st*.—Winston Churchill surpassed himself last night when he described as false and monstrous the position which Lord Morley had taken up in the other Chamber a little earlier in the evening. While he was on his legs his Private Secretary came into the Lords to obtain, if possible, Lord Morley's notes. At first Lord Morley refused to surrender them at any price, but after some mediation he consented, saying to the abashed emissary, "With the imperiousness you have no doubt learnt from your master, tell him that I want them back immediately!"

Lord Morley has, after prolonged and anxious thought, put his view of loyalty to the Prime Minister above every other obligation, and it is impossible, when personal consideration of this character comes in, to blame a man for risking a misconception of motive which may do some damage to his fame. His friendship and esteem for the Prime Minister, who has just assumed a new and heavy burden, are, I believe, the determining factors, and no one but himself can measure the strength of such an appeal. Before his decision was known, it was said to me, "I hope to God he won't go, as he is the only one of them who tells us the truth." Indeed, his candour, like that of the late Duke of Devonshire, must often be troublesome to his colleagues and a real menace to some.

*April* 6*th*.—Asquith attended a Council at three o'clock this afternoon, in order to receive the seals of the War Office and take the oath of office. He appeared in very good spirits, and was unwontedly cordial in his manner. His resolution in taking the place is both wise and patriotic. Calumny of the Army is necessarily stilled, and, with the work of the department in his hands, he may well shake off the indolence which has mortgaged his efficiency as a Prime Minister.

*April* 8*th*.—On my way to Yorkshire this morning I met John Burns at King's Cross, who came and sat in my carriage till the train started. He assured me that the Board of Trade experts gave the present boom another four or five years, and he believed the Chancellor of the Exchequer would be able to budget for a large normal increase of revenue, if not as large as last year. The peace in the Balkans had resulted in an immense expansion of English trade in that quarter, and, what was more curious, the political predominance of France and Spain in Morocco had given the trade advantage to us, presumably owing to the distaste of the Moors for the methods of the other Powers.

*April* 24*th*–27*th*.—We were at North Aston with the Longfords. I went over to Worton, where I spent the first years of my conscious existence, 1853–1860. I had not been there since, and yet the recollection of it was overwhelmingly vivid and exact, the curious thing being that it seemed as if it belonged to another order of experience, and was stirred by some more remote intima-

tions than were part of my present life. Memory plays strange tricks with personality, and I seemed sensible of a dual strain of connection in all that touched me. It was, I suppose, the eternal warfare between the instinctive apparatus of consciousness and its acquired tendencies, but the feeling for the moment was quite uncanny.

Lady Longford was not as well as I could have wished to see her, but she was gentle and wise as ever, with most excellent judgment when she has the confidence to exercise it. For a member of the minority in the heart of Home Rule Ireland, Longford has as calm and prudent a temper as any man I know. He can see at once the weakness and the strength of the Ulster case, and is not insensible to the inarticulate aspirations of the Irish genius. He has a curious taste for probing the mental attitude of persons and causes, from which his own temperamental convictions keep him aloof, with the result that he has intellectual sympathy in many directions whither his own opinions have not strayed. He is a strong, silent man, with a resolute will and catholic understanding; he illustrates the wisdom of Lord Morley's maxim to get at the men who don't talk.

*April 29th.*—The dramatic *coup* by which the Ulster malcontents introduced in a single night an unknown quantity of arms into the country has had a beneficent effect. Following upon the collapse of the military plans a month ago, it has given an immense momentum to the pacifists in the Cabinet and on both sides of the House of Commons. This was reflected in the debate, and took all the edge off the attempt to prove the existence of the "Plot." As Lord Morley said to me this morning, "You may take it from me, as a family secret, the Carsonites will get everything they ask for." Redmond, he added, is anxious and disconcerted, not without reason.

Lord Morley told Winston he would end his days at St. Helena. He was more flattered by the comparison than dismayed by the prospect. The net result of six weeks' agitation has been to place both parties in a truer relation to the facts, but this has not been achieved without much that is deplorable in word and deed on both sides. Whatever at one moment was in "the dark and tortuous mind" of the First Lord of the Admiralty, no conspiracy to precipitate bloodshed was entertained by the Cabinet. All they are answerable for is the violent language permitted him and Lloyd George and the dubious tactics of the late Secretary for War. The most that was in the minds of the Government as a whole was some kind of demonstration which would test the confidence to be reposed in the troops, and for that there was some reason, looking to the systematic efforts that have been made to suborn them and pervert their loyalty to the Executive. Not only at the Curragh, but at other stations, leaflets have been

distributed urging them to disobey orders on the assumption, for which there was no warrant, that they would be employed to repress legitimate opposition. The direct responsibility for all this is not perhaps clear, but the language of the Tory newspapers and the clamour with which the so-called British Covenant has been announced from the same sources render a section of the Unionist Party in the highest degree suspect. The jubilation with which the use of the name "Gough" as a password during the gun-running operations was hailed by a leading Opposition paper, was a sign of complicity which cannot be overlooked. The criminality of sueh conduct is only to be equalled by its tactical foolishness.

The Government are open to the charge of slackness and want of forethought in dealing with the elements of Ulster discontent, of not having measured its force or prepared themselves for the solution of an inevitable problem—charges grave enough in all truth; and the Prime Minister, though his lethargy has been redeemed by moments of resolution, is answerable for the violence and intrigue of colleagues he has either feared or not cared to restrain; but neither he nor they have used the resources of order to foment anarchy, nor tampered with the foundations of executive authority.

*May 6th.*—The death of the Duke of Argyll removes one with no pretensions to fame, who yet gained the esteem and good-will of his countrymen by the unostentatious discharge of duty and by his simple and direct character. He was overshadowed by the reputation of his father as thinker and orator. Of the latter Lord Morley says that when "The Reign of Law" came out, G. H. Lewes, whom he (Lord Morley) had just succeeded in the chair of the "Fortnightly," proposed to contribute an article on the book: "He may be a great Duke," was his remark, "but I shall show he is not a great scientist." However, when he came to investigate the Duke's scientific equipment for the task he had undertaken, he was immensely struck by the range and exactness of his information.

*May 13th.*—The Cabinet to-day was concerned with the limits of concession. The Prime Minister is loth to make too clear the position of the Government before it can be helped, and meanwhile Redmond, whose conduct up to this point has been unexceptionable, has to be kept in good humour. For the present the majority of Ministers is in favour of purchasing peace in the last resort on Carson's terms, but both in the Cabinet and in the party there is an uncompromising section which would prefer to stand by Redmond and, in Milner's phrase, "damn the consequences," unless he is permitted by his friends to subscribe the conditions of settlement.

Lord Morley appears to think the defeat of the Government

in the House of Commons and an early election not at all improbable, and, if the Home Rule Bill was safe, he would not dislike throwing on the Unionists the task of watching over the beginnings of Irish self-government: that of itself, in his opinion, would be the most effective guarantee possible against the oppression of the Protestant minority.

*May* 14*th*.—Council at Buckingham Palace. Lord Morley being ill, Beauchamp took his place. Three new Privy Councillors were sworn. Two of them, Sir Joshua Williams, a retired Judge of New Zealand, and Sir Arthur Channell, who has just left the Bench in this country, had not met since they were at school together sixty years ago! Lord Justice Pickford was also sworn.

Beauchamp testified to the extreme propriety of Redmond's behaviour in his relations with the Government. It is only the stress of circumstances which will force him into an attitude likely to give them trouble.

*May* 20*th*.—The publication of Mrs. Parnell's story of her ill-fated passion stirred Lord Morley to an energetic repudiation of much which she alleges to have marked his and Mr. Gladstone's relations with Mr. Parnell. He rejects utterly the statement that Mr. Gladstone waited for a telegram from Parnell approving the introduction of the Home Rule Bill; and, as to the allegation that on one occasion he suggested to Parnell to excite the people to outrage, he declared it to be not only a malicious falsehood, but in direct contradiction to that which really occurred. Mr. Gladstone and he met Parnell with a view to imposing upon him the exercise of all the restraining influences which he could exert. He admits the employment of O'Shea as an intermediary, but it was rendered necessary by the faet of his being the only person who at that time was privy to Parnell's obscure movements, and therefore able to bring him into touch with the Government at critical moments. The circumstances which led to O'Shea's abandonment of the rôle of the *mari complaisant* were curious. The son, arriving at his mother's house in Brighton, found in the dressing-room adjoining her bedroom all the appointments of Parnell's toilet, and, having hurled them out of the window, proceeded to visit his father and threaten him with immediate exposure unless he took steps to vindieate his own honour. Hence the proceedings which sealed Parnell's doom; but so little did he expect the disaster that, ten days beforc the case was taken, he assured Lord Morley he had nothing to fear, so confident was he in "his power to square O'Shea" at the last moment.

Before he repaired to the Cabinet Lord Morley asked again for my prayers, as they were indubitably in a tight place!

We had a dinner last night for the Curries' Ball at Riehmond Terrace: Mrs. Forster and her daughter, Lady Monson, Miss

Nicolson, Wilfrid Ashley, Bernard Howard, and another man or two.

*May 22nd.*—By Lord Morley's wish I saw Tommy Bowles, who wanted information on the historic aspects of Privy Council practice and procedure. He avowed himself a bitter opponent of Cabinet government, which in the course of two centuries had atrophied and sterilised all the forces of the State. He attributed all our present difficulties to the irresponsibility which had grown up, as a destroying parasite, around Cabinet government, and would like to restore the constitutional authority of the King in Council to its old deliberative and administrative efficacy. He was particularly caustic on the impotence of the Opposition, and said that, if he were in Parliament, he would get the Government out in a fortnight.

Bonar Law's reply [1] to the Speaker has won him more fame than three years of laborious tactics. Asquith, in conversation with Lord Morley last night, wondered whether he would have said anything so good; and the whole Front Bench on the Ministerial side are unanimous in applauding the aptness and promptitude of his retort. The Speaker, no doubt, put what he had to say in a very unfortunate form; his lapse is as remarkable as the other's counter-stroke. The ponderous reproof of "The Westminster Gazette" is singular reading in the light of Asquith's verdict upon the encounter.

*May 25th.*—On telling Lord Morley of Lloyd George's outburst in Ipswich, "In all the ranks of Liberalism there is no loftier or more beautiful soul than Charles Masterman," he exclaimed: "Did he tell them that? I may be permitted to say, it is arrant nonsense." He thinks the drift of events has placed the control of the issue largely in the hands of the Opposition. They can throw out the "Amending Bill" in the House of Lords, which in his judgment would compel the Government to have recourse to a General Election; while, if they proceed to alter it in accordance with their views, the Government would have no alternative but to submit, on pain of the Bill's rejection and their impalement on the other horn of the dilemma. He was blamed, he said, for pessimism, but it was only another name for the recognition of facts, and the situation in Ulster was the governing fact.

*June 4th–8th.*—Four days at Broadlands, marred by the inclemency of the weather. Under the normal conditions of summer it is a place of many enchantments, and within the Abbey Church I feel a greater security than most ecclesiastical buildings inspire. The prevailing complexion of the party was

[1] Mr. Bonar Law, having been asked by the Speaker whether the disorder of his followers had his assent and approval, replied: "I would not presume to criticise what you consider your duty, sir, but I know mine, and that is not to answer any such question."

political: Staveley-Hill, M.P., and wife, Sir R. Baker, M.P., the editor of "The Daily Express," a clever little American German Jew and wife, and Mrs. Forbes-Semphill.

It is curious to reflect on the fortunes of the Tory Party in the selection of the journalists to whom its guidance is entrusted. With all his wits, there was nothing in Mr. Blumenfeld which suggested a capacity to measure or direct British instincts; to sell a newspaper was obviously his business, and to that end partisan ignorance and passion, with a dash of malignity, were the chosen instruments. One of the results of newspaper Syndicalism.

*June 9th.*—We dined with Lady St. Helier last night: a party of characteristic mosaic. Lady Allendale, Lord Moulton, Sir J. Sankey, the last addition to the High Court, Gill, K.C. Sir Edward and Lady Solomon, Mrs. Glasgow, Lady Girouard, Sir Almroth Wright, and an Ulsterman, once a partner in Harland and Wolff, who spoke with curious detachment upon the present crisis and appeared to enjoy the confidence of both parties.

*June 10th.*—I met Stamfordham at the foot of the Duke of York steps and took a walk with him up and down the Mall. In his view neither the King nor the Prime Minister knew any more what was likely to happen than the man in the street. The Prime Minister, he said, was constant in his assurances to the King that everything would come right in the end. Lloyd George, whom he saw the other day, spoke in the same vein of confidence, and, with magnificent presumption, declared: "We lawyers"—as if he were one of the leaders of the Bar—"know perfectly well that the most critical cases are often settled out of court at the last moment"—a fatally misleading analogy. The Ministry was far too much disposed to regard the situation as a suit between two parties to be settled in the terms of legal practice, making no allowance for the passions that have been excited on either side. As Mr. Balfour said a night or two ago, the Prime Minister's cardinal defect is his disinclination to look at facts apart from the restraints of his professional bias.

*June 15th.*—I told Lord Morley the substance of my conversation with Stamfordham. He quite accepted the view that the Prime Minister's confidence rested on no more solid basis than incurable optimism. On hearing Lloyd George's fantastic declaration to the King, "'We lawyers know'!" he exclaimed. "What a little Welsh attorney! He might as well have said 'We financiers'!" Lord Morley produced a letter from Birrell, who had been spending the recess in Donegal: he could see no way out of what he called the present "unheroic imbroglio," though he said that no one except the ill-paid and overworked constabulary appeared to think that an actual outbreak would occur. There is reason, it seems, to believe that in the last resort it might not be possible to depend on the constabulary itself.

*June 16th.*—Council at Windsor for the Proclamation of a Bank Holiday at Nottingham on the occasion of the King's visit next week. Lord Morley and I went from London, Crewe, Chesterfield, and Stamfordham making up the quorum from the house party.

Lord Morley had a long conversation with the King on the present aspect of the crisis. His Majesty holds very strongly that Ministers can hardly advise him to assent to the Home Rule Bill unless the Amending Bill reaches him as an agreed measure at the same time. He deems himself fortified in this position by the language of Asquith, who, in one of his speeches, treated the two Bills as part of one solution, or, as Lord Morley said, practically interdependable. The King asked him for the text of the Prime Minister's observations, which he promised to furnish. To an enquiry whether I saw any objection to his doing so, I replied that his obligation, as one of His Majesty's servants, was primarily to the King, who had every right to the actual text of such an important deliverance.

Lord Morley said His Majesty exhibited a remarkable grasp of the whole question, and added that he had a very serviceable mind for the purpose of such discussion.

Finally I put to him, straight, what was his opinion on the ultimate outcome. Premising that, contrary to what appeared to be the prevailing opinion in the House of Lords, the Government had no intention to embarrass the Opposition by the introduction of the Amending Bill in that House : their object was to get from the Peers the irreducible minimum to which they would agree before Redmond had occasion to deliver himself on the subject within the walls of Parliament. He informed me that the resolve of the Peers to read the Bill a second time was due to the influence of Curzon and Salisbury, and more particularly to that of Derby, who throughout had shown a most statesmanlike grasp of the situation, besides energy in claiming attention to his views, and that this triumph of moderation had sensibly improved the chances of an agreement. He was inclined to think that if Carson insisted upon a statutory Ulster inclusive of Fermanagh and Tyrone, without any limit of time, the Government would not only accept it, but that Redmond would acquiesce to the extent of not voting against it. Birrell, he said, is in daily communication with him and Dillon, and has found them both most reasonable. From something the latter dropped in conversation with Lord Morley some weeks ago, he thinks that such a solution was in his mind at the time.

At Slough we were joined by the Duke of Wellington on his return from the presentation of the customary flag, by virtue of which he holds Strathfieldsaye. I introduced him to the Lord President, who was quite pleased at meeting the grandson of the

great Duke, whom he remembers when as a boy he accompanied his father to Manchester at a visit of Queen Victoria's to that city. The Duke, who was then in extreme old age, excited the enthusiasm of the crowd to a greater extent than the young Queen.

*June 22nd.*—My stand for the "Trooping of the Colour" was well filled: the Belgian Minister and Countess Isobel, Bath, Lady Kathleen and the two younger children, Mrs. Forster and Miss Rachel, Lady Mary Hamilton and her younger sister and brother, the Dalrymples and their children, Charles Welby and daughter, Miss Enid Campbell, Edith Currie, the Longford children, and a few others.

*June 23rd.*—Lloyd George seems never at a loss for expedients to humiliate the Government of which he is a member. Lord Morley described Asquith as "writhing" under the indignity of the position in which he was placed last night, when the Finance Minister had to take back half the Budget. How the officials of the Treasury could have been parties to the blunder passed Lord Morley's understanding. He thinks Lloyd George confuses them with a torrent of reasoning, the readiness and plausibility of which obscure the radical unsoundness. Lloyd George's sin is lack of concentration; the time that should be given to thinking out these high problems is frittered away in interruptions, now from this person, now from that; anybody, in short, to whom he is accessible, and these are legion.

Lord Morley commented not obscurely on the situation in the House of Lords in connection with the introduction of the Amending Bill, and did not quarrel with my description of its peculiarity, viz. the Second Chamber being called upon to do work for the Government which they hardly felt independent enough to do for themselves.

The question which Minister should go to Guernsey for the Victor Hugo celebrations on July 7th and 8th has now been settled. With some reluctance, but forced thereto by the formidable character of the programme, Lord Morley declined to go, and Beauchamp has been selected, in his double capacity of "Minister of Fine Art" and Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports. I am to go with him, and a ship of war is to be placed at our disposal.

*June 26th.*—Desart called to-day and spoke very seriously of the situation created in the South of Ireland by the proposed exclusion of Ulster. A growing feeling existed among Peers connected with that part of the country in favour of the rejection of the Amending Bill, though Willoughby de Broke's motion to that effect had been put down entirely on his own responsibility. For his part, he both feared and desired such an issue. Whichever way he looked, the position seemed charged with disaster, and the part cast upon him, as in some sense the adviser of his

countrymen, filled him with perplexity. Whatever was done, he wished to see the controversy closed in one form or another, for keeping it open was in his view fatal to Irish prosperity.

*July 2nd.*—I had luncheon with the Havershams to meet Prince Christian, who has recovered his vitality to a remarkable degree. There is not, as a rule, much affinity between princes and poetry, but he quoted Heine to Lady Greville with great feeling and spirit. He told me he had been out hunting twenty-three days the last winter, and recalled the time, thirty-five years ago, when we used to meet in the hunting-field.

I saw Lord Morley afterwards and was able to relieve him of one or two things that were bothering him, for which he showed more gratitude than the service justified. He produced the copy of a letter which Victor Hugo had written Cook, of "The Saturday Review" in the sixties, enquiring who was the author of a critical notice of "Les Misérables" which had appeared in its columns, declaring that the writer had shown a deeper insight into his thought than any contemporary critic. He regretted his ignorance of English, but affirmed a most vivid admiration for the country of Shakespeare, Newton, and Wilberforce, the spirit of all of whom he had found in his critic! The letter is to be produced in the course of Beauchamp's speech at Guernsey next week.

I saw Glyn Philpot's picture of Lady Beauchamp this morning. A work of marvellous technique and profound characterisation. It is not perhaps as everyone sees her, but the image that the artist's genius stamps on personality is there. It conveys no truer touch than in the way she clasps to her side the eldest girl, a charming little figure. The whole conception and treatment show how the highest interpretation is reached by the man who can put the infinite between his object and his model.

*July 4th.*—Mrs. Forster gave me a lift to Osterley, where I stayed to dinner. The gardens were looking their best, and there were a sufficient number of people to give a sense of gaiety to the scene.

*July 6th–10th.*—These days were occupied by the mission to Guernsey in connection with the Victor Hugo celebrations.

We (Beauchamp, self, Delevingne of the Home Office, Elliott, Commissioner of Police, and Locock of the Foreign Office, our Secretary) embarked at Dover in H.M.S. "Russell," and started immediately, reaching Guernsey at eight the following morning. The French Deputation, including M. Augagneur, Minister of Education, M. Gauthier, Minister of Marine, MM. Richepin and Hervieu of the French Academy, and others distinguished in literature and art, arrived two hours later, and at 11.30 we landed to pay our respects to the French Ministers. We returned on board for luncheon, and at 1.30, arrayed in uniform, repaired to

*Photo by Bassano, Ltd*

EARL BEAUCHAMP, K.G.

the Court House, from which the procession to the Park, where the statue was, started.

At this point I cannot do better than insert the letter to Lord Morley which gives some account of the ceremony.

"DEAR LORD MORLEY,

"Some account of our proceedings in Guernsey seems due. The mission has proved a signal success owing to Beauchamp's tact, instinctive submission to the claims of the French temperament, and wisdom in handling the topics on which he touched in his two speeches. You will find the more important one, reported unfortunately in English, in the accompanying newspaper, from which it will be seen that the letter you gave him played a notable part in concentrating French attention upon his eulogy of Victor Hugo, thereby investing it with the sanction of your great authority.

"There was but one opinion among the French visitors as to the excellence of his speech, both in form and matter. M. Dalinier, Sous-Secrétaire d'État des Beaux Arts, told the Bailiff's wife he had taken the French by storm, and that his courtesy, facility of communication, and frankness of approach had won all hearts.

"The scene of the inauguration was of great beauty, overlooking a turquoise sea and the distant archipelago of islands, the only inconvenience being the intense heat.

"Richepin's *discours* was magnificent in the energy of the declamation and splendour of diction, his ebullient spirit playing in pulses of fire through every sentence. Paul Hervieu's discriminating survey of Victor Hugo's dramatic work was conceived in a more academical vein, not so suitable to a popular auditory. The recitations of Mounet Sully and Mlle Roch, of the Comédie Française, to whom Beauchamp presented a bouquet, stirred the company to enthusiasm.

"I was wondering throughout with what patience a purely English audience would have supported a series of literary exercises for two hours under a torrid sun; but with us attention never flagged.

"Much as the whole thing would have interested you, I am sure you exercised a most wise decision in avoiding the fatigue, for the strain was almost incessant. Happily we had a tower of silence in the ship.

"Sincerely yours,

"ALMERIC FITZROY."

A banquet was given by the States in the evening to some two hundred persons. The speakers were commendably brief, Beauchamp again producing an excellent impression. Mounet Sully

recited "Booz endormi," but neither he nor Mlle Roch were as good as upon the hill-side. Owing to the desperate confusion in the cloak-room, we were not on board till twelve o'clock.

Wednesday was opened with a military display by the Yorkshire Regiment, which included a parade in costume of the eighteenth century of the Grenadier Company, who went through the exercises of that day with a dignity and precision that excited great admiration, particularly among the French spectators. We next visited Hauteville House, where we were received by M. G. Victor Hugo, who with the utmost courtesy showed us everything connected with his grandfather.

A luncheon given by the French Society of Victor Hugo terminated the public ceremonials. After taking leave of the French delegates, we returned to the ship. The Governor and Lady Wilma Lawson and her daughters came to tea and saw the departure of the French cruiser. Subsequently we dined (a kind of State dinner) at Saumarez Park, where the Governor lives.

We were under way by 7.30 on Thursday, and, proceeding to the north of Sark, were landed at the little harbour on the east side for some two hours, which gave us time to see the most notable features of the island. Re-embarking at 10 o'clock we reached Dover by 7 a.m. on Friday. The day was one of extraordinary loveliness and serenity, the whole French coast from Cape Carteret to La Hogue being unfolded on one side and Alderney lying in shadow upon the other.

Captain Bowden-Smith and his officers vied with each other in considering our comfort and convenience, the Engineer and the Gunnery Lieutenant being especially zealous in explaining all that was significant within their respective departments.

*July 11th.*—In replying to my letter Lord Morley wrote: "It is really most kind of you to write to me and send the paper. I have read it with lively interest. Beauchamp evidently did famously well, as we expected. The Frenchmen were glorious. You might well wonder how an English audience (I don't say a Welsh audience) would have stood such a series of literary exercises. But I am painfully sorry to think how half a dozen living English authors could never have risen to the exaltation of mind and splendour of speech and free *élan* of your Frenchmen. I look forward to a talk with you. I hope it was a pleasure to you. Yours always sincerely, M."

*July 16th.*—The Council to-day gave me opportunity for some talk with Lord Morley, to whom I mentioned the surprise with which I had read his rather uncompromising warning to the Opposition in the House of Lords. "Well," he said, "I thought it was time to let them know they could not have everything." He rather expected the King might refer to the speech, but, as he said, His Majesty is in no doubt of his views and the efforts

he has made towards conciliation. The King's chief anxiety has always been the Prime Minister's reluctance to grasp the nettle. With Asquith it is not only a constitutional disinclination to anticipate events, but a reasoned conviction that in nine cases out of ten a decision is best deferred till the last moment. However, he believes that moment to have come, and will have nothing to say to those who ask for a postponement till the autumn.

Lord Morley admits the time-limit is gone, and with a statutory Ulster which it is believed Carson would in the last resort accept, the option disappears also. There is thus but a small difference between the two disputants, though, as everyone knows, the reduction of the area of difference often means an intensification of the hold which each maintains on what is left.

*July 25th.*—Discussion is adjourned to the floor of the House of Commons. The conference was worth trying, and its ostensible failure is not the full measure of its effects. Incidentally, moreover, it has given Asquith the occasion to place himself well with the nation by his chivalrous and spirited rebuke to the ill-advised and ill-conditioned efforts within the Liberal Party to charge the King with complicity in Ulster discontent and Tory intrigue. It is something if the conference has confirmed the mutual confidence of King and Prime Minister; but it has done more in bringing to light the exact limits of pretension on either side, and if the Government, as they well may, proceed to insert amendments in the Bill giving effect to the points whereon in the interests of peace concession is demanded, the malcontent elements in Parliament will hardly prove strong enough to frustrate their intentions.

*July 28th.*—The menace of European war has come with startling abruptness. I received this afternoon the intimation that the Cabinet had decided to initiate the precautionary stage in the preparations for war. In a few minutes' talk I had with Lord Morley, I discovered that the step met with his keen disapproval, and that, upon its being followed by mobilisation, he would cease to incur further ministerial responsibility. Sympathetic as he is towards France in her secular struggle with Germany in the world of ideas, he cannot brook this country becoming a party to what he regards as a Slavonic movement against Teuton influence. Russia and all she stands for is still for him identified with barbarism, and he looks upon any tendency hostile to Germany that has its roots in Slav aspirations as prejudicial to the interests of civilisation. I understood there were other members of the Cabinet who thought with him, but at this stage it is not certain where the preponderance will ultimately lie.

*July 29th.*—The action of the Government in postponing the consideration of the Amending Bill seems regarded in some

quarters as fraught with opportunities for concord and reconciliation in Ireland.

I had luncheon with the Forsters, who do not lose their attractiveness when gathered in a family group.

*July* 31*st.*—Another Cabinet to-day in an atmosphere of growing anxiety. I learnt from Arthur Nicolson that, in spite of Edward Grey's misgivings and the more strongly expressed dissent of Winston Churchill, no decision was reached in favour of any further precautionary steps. Indeed, the disposition of Ministers was hardening into resistance to the demand for mobilisation, the large majority of them being wholly opposed to such a step.

Later in the afternoon I saw Herbert Gladstone, who, from the tranquillity of his detached position, thought the best security for European peace lay in a declaration to Germany that, unless she exercised all her influence to arrest Austria in the path of provocation, we should have to take our stand by the side of Russia and France.

Subsequently information of an ominous character came through which led to our giving instructions to the King's Printer and to the office of "The London Gazette" that a sufficient staff was to be retained at their disposal throughout the next three days for any work that we might impose upon them.

*August* 1*st.*—The Cabinet met again this morning, which gave me an opportunity of letting Lord Morley know what I had done. He quite approved of the step, but held strongly to the belief that it would be found superfluous. He repeated with great frankness his own objections to mobilisation, and stated that a very large body of opinion, drawn not only from the great industrial centres of the North of England, but from banking and commercial authorities in London, including the heads of the Bank of England, was adverse to any steps which might be construed into a resolve to take sides in the present dispute. He admitted the prospect was very black, but in his judgment any such action on our part would be more likely to precipitate than to avert war, and the only thing we could do was to press France to exercise restraint on Russia. He told me that before yesterday's Cabinet Cambon had asked Edward Grey to give him an assurance of our intentions on two points, and that in the result the Secretary of State had been instructed to say that in the present state of public opinion no answer on either point could be given. He would not even allow that the intention attributed to Germany of using Belgium as the avenue of its advance on Paris would necessarily involve us in any treaty obligation, quoting the opinion of Lord Derby at the time of the Luxemburg affair, when he explained that the character of the joint guarantee which Belgium enjoyed was such as to limit its efficacy

to occasions when all the parties to it were in accord: the position, in short, was one of strictly limited liability. He declared that our first obligation was to our own people. With Russia we had absolutely no binding engagements of any kind, and, as to France, they had been laid down two years ago with the utmost precision, and nothing had occurred, or was likely to occur, to bring the present case within them. Asquith, he reminded me, had declared in Parliament "there are no unpublished agreements which will restrict or hamper the freedom of the Government or of Parliament to decide whether or not Great Britain should participate in a war."

I had luncheon with Beauchamp, who told me he went even further than Lord Morley in opposing our participation in the struggle; but a grave difficulty lay before the Government in the news that had reached them that Germany was detaining British ships in German ports. So far, of course, as their bills of lading showed them to have cargoes covering commodities the export of which has been prohibited, the Germans were within their right, but their action so far indicated a more provocative interference, which must be the cause of sharp diplomatic protest.

The announcement of Italy's intention to remain neutral is the only bright spot on the horizon. M. Edwards, the Chilian Minister, told me the general impression was that her decision had been fortified, if not suggested, by English influence, and was inclined to speculate on the likelihood of its being made a reason for the non-intervention of Great Britain. The Cabinet is to meet again to-morrow, Sunday, at 11 a.m.

*August 2nd.*—An anxious day. I was at the Office by ten o'clock, and while the Cabinet was sitting had a visit from Sir A. Thring, to obtain a Royal Proclamation enjoining a Moratorium for Bills of Exchange, in order to relieve the strain on the City. I communicated with Stamfordham, who said the King would be ready any time after four which I might name. The Cabinet was still sitting at 1.45, when I went over to the Travellers' for luncheon. I found there Lord Lansdowne and Arthur Balfour engaged in earnest colloquy. After the Cabinet a gathering of the anti-intervention section met at Beauchamp's: Lord Morley, Harcourt, McKinnon Wood, Pease, and Samuel; the last-named came late, and, but for an act of self-denial on the part of Lord Morley, there would have been nothing left but a ham! I got hold of Lord Morley then and fixed up the Council for 4.30, to which he brought Beauchamp. We heard that the Cabinet was to meet again at 6.30, when, in deference to Winston's urgent demand, it was probable that full naval mobilisation would be approved. To that end I arranged with the King to hold another Council at eleven in the morning. As we left, Lord Morley told

me the high-handed action of Germany was weakening the efforts of the peacemakers in the Cabinet, but he had still hope that mobilisation would stop at the Navy. His own view was unchanged, that patience and diplomatic pressure at the right moment might yet avert the conflict.

At half-past eight I heard from Lord Morley that the navy orders would be issued, and I returned to the Office to see that everything was in readiness. The Cabinet had sat for nearly three hours.

*August 6th.*—Four days of feverish activity have passed, each signalised by two Councils, the business of which traced the progress of preparation up to and in pursuance of the declaration of war on Tuesday night. The experience of these days has proved the invaluable service of the Sub-committee of the C.I.D. for the co-ordination of departmental action at the approach of war. Where in past times confusion, uncertainty, and hesitation prevailed, the collective machine has worked with an amazing celerity, precision, and completeness. On Monday morning the naval mobilisation was perfected by the issue of all the necessary Orders and Proclamations ; this was followed the same afternoon by the extension of the Bank Holiday for another three days, and a preliminary proclamation dealing with the export of warlike stores. Parliament having adjourned from Friday at 6 p.m. to Monday at two o'clock, it was held that we were justified in the view that it was not "sitting," and the King accordingly stated in Council the occasion which had arisen : a step which was criticised in some quarters, but was absolutely necessary in the interests of the State. So rapidly did events march that the height of the crisis was reached on Tuesday. Just before the Council held at four o'clock for the mobilisation of the Army, I received information from the Foreign Office that an ultimatum had been presented at Berlin, with the time for reply limited to midnight, when, if no reply was sent, or it was unsatisfactory, a state of war would arise. A midnight Council was accordingly requisite, in order to sanction the conditional seizure of German ships in English ports, and the issue of a Proclamation defining contraband. Sir E. Grey's magnificent declaration in the House of Commons the day before had fully prepared public opinion, excited as it was to the highest pitch by the violation of Belgian territory. The hesitants in the Cabinet, which three days before had constituted a majority, were now reduced to four, whose resignations were rumoured : Lord Morley, Beauchamp, Burns, and Sir J. Simon. Lord Morley was present at the Council in the afternoon, but would not admit his resignation, though he said oracularly that the Cabinet might lose the presence of three Johns. Up to this point Beauchamp was certainly one of the leaders of dissent, his house having been the rallying-point of

the disaffected, but the personal appeal of the Prime Minister, to which Lord Morley with grave emphasis turned a deaf ear, appears to have modified his objection. He had attended the Cabinet that afternoon from which Lord Morley was absent, and at the evening Council certainly showed a changed disposition. With a view to having the men under my hand at any moment if a Council before midnight was required, I furnished myself with a time-table of Beauchamp's, Granard's, and Allendale's movements during the evening. At 10.15 it was announced that the Germans had returned a curt refusal, and we might proceed to the decisive step. In a quarter of an hour I had my men on the spot, and at a few minutes after 10.30 the order indicative of a state of war was approved.

The following day (Wednesday) Arthur Nicolson told me a curious story of the means by which the crisis had been precipitated. An intercepted telegram to Lichnowsky purported to give an account of Sir E. Goschen's proceedings at Berlin, which Nicolson believed to be a designedly false version, ending up with the statement that he had been sent his passports at 7 p.m. This Lichnowsky confirmed, and, communication with Goschen being impossible, we received the authorisation to proceed. Two more Councils took place (Wednesday) at eleven and six respectively, dealing with all the urgent matters that follow the disturbance of peace.

At the second Council Beauchamp was declared Lord President, the Prime Minister having offered him the opportunity of returning, which he gladly seized, and Runciman was sworn President of the Board of Trade. A most drastic but necessary Order in Council was approved under the new Aliens Act passed through both Houses in three hours, by the provisions of which the alien enemy is subjected to the severest restraint and supervision and exposed to the direst penalties in event of any breach of the regulations under which he is permitted to live. The number of Germans left in England is very large, and 80 per cent. are suspected of being spies, actual or potential: two were arrested yesterday in the neighbourhood of Whitehall, and said they were looking for the British Museum! As irreparable mischief might be effected by an airship throwing bombs upon the wireless apparatus at the Admiralty, steps are being taken to mount guns of high trajectory on three lofty sites from which the air approaches to the building may be swept by artillery fire.

Two more Councils were held on Thursday. The first for the introduction of Lord Kitchener into the Privy Council, and the subsequent delivery to him of the seals of Secretary of State for War. Asquith attended, and bore himself with marked composure: his great speech has conquered universal approbation, and there is no one who at the moment holds a greater position

in the confidence of the country. A later Council extended the Moratorium to a wider set of cases.

After the midnight Council on Tuesday the King read to us a telegram conveying a Resolution of the Town Council of Drogheda, hitherto a hotbed of Nationalism, declaring their loyalty to the Crown and attachment to the British connection in terms of most ardent devotion; asking, moreover, for the withdrawal of English troops in Ireland for service elsewhere, in which event they and their brethren in the North of Ireland would stand shoulder to shoulder in defence of their common country. The King was justified in describing it as a remarkable document. Lord Morley, to whom I mentioned it the following morning, remarked: "You may believe me, there is no people with such a keen instinct for politics as the Irish." This is no doubt an aspect of the situation which altogether escaped German observation. Lichnowsky himself, who lived much in the flamboyant insurgence of Londonderry House, was naturally misled and helped to mislead his Government. He was so overcome by the news of the ultimatum presented at Berlin that he burst into tears.

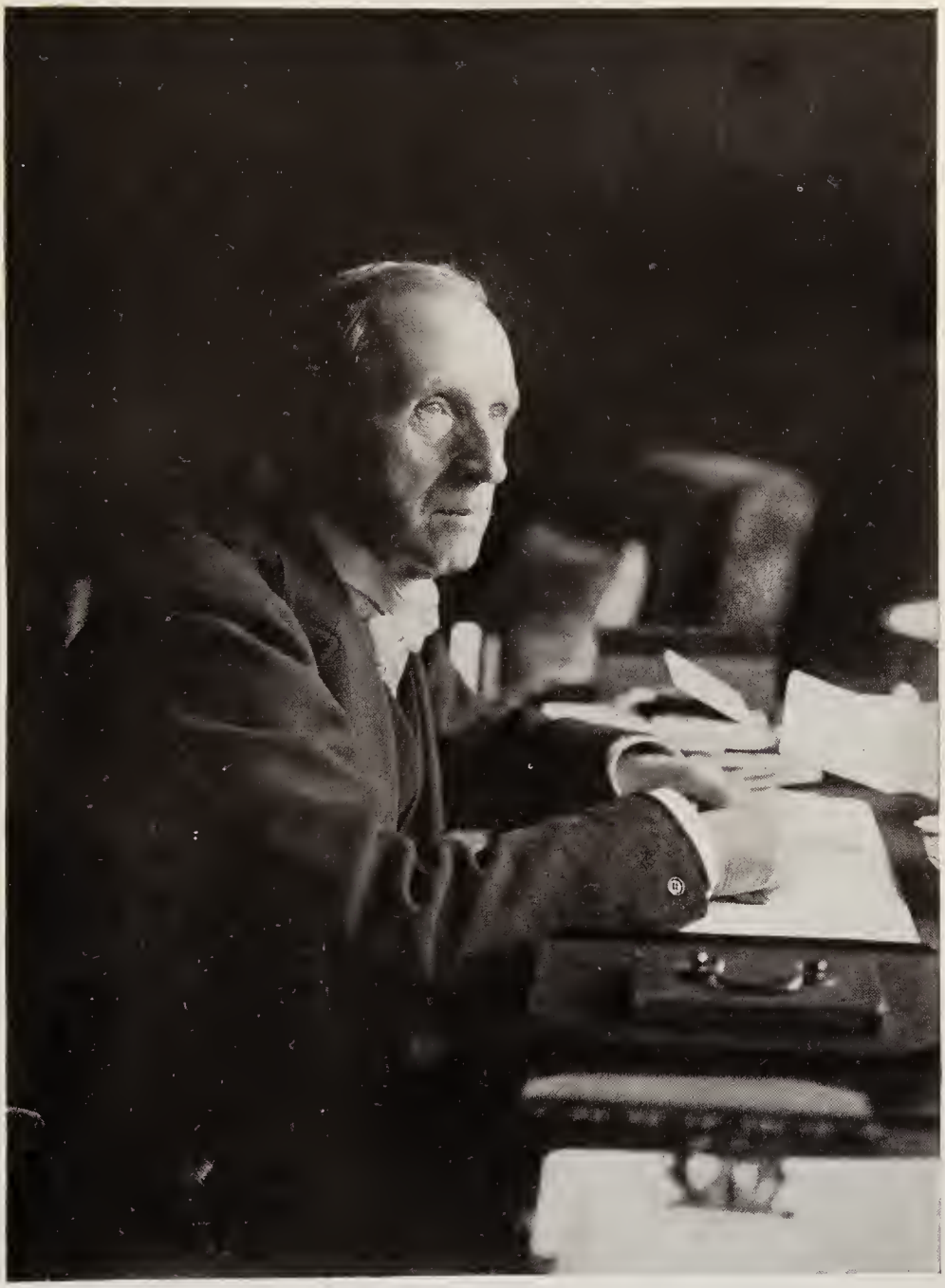
*August 7th.*—The loss of Lord Morley is the price we have to pay for the righteous resolution at which the country has arrived. It is easy to see the force of the objections, as they appealed to him, associated as they are with all the antecedent tendencies of his faith, and he has no doubt been right to carry his scruples into retirement. To me his going is irreparable. I had grown so used to the colloquies, often prolonged, wherein he was wont to pour out the mellow wisdom of his thought—the kindly tolerance of his human estimates—that I had begun to treat them as part of the intellectual sustenance of life, the essential furniture of such outlook upon things as official experience permitted. It was in moulding judgment to the perception of truth in its highest possibilities that his influence habitually tended, and he was always prone to draw those with whom he talked to some high plane of self-revelation.

It was impossible, indeed, to be long with him without measurement of the distance at which you had left your ordinary self, and this without any apparent effort, nothing but the insensible polarisation of hidden faculties under the attraction of a remarkable personality. With his disappearance my official life may well look towards the end. Our actual parting was marked by no particular emphasis; the moment seemed inopportune; but I wrote to him afterwards, and now record his reply.

"*Aug.* 7, '14.

"My dear Sir Almeric,

"Your very kind letter gives me particular pleasure, I assure you. I have always held that a Minister's best test—I



*Reginald Haynes, 4 Southampton Row.*

VISCOUNT MORLEY, O.M.

mean the test of his character and qualities—is to be found in his relations with the permanent head of his department. It will remain a true delight to me, in my dwindling days, to think that you and I have got on for four years without a hitch or a scratch. Business has been smooth, and our interludes of bookish associations and social talk of the better sort have—to me—been delightful.

"Believe me, in all sincerity,

"Your very obliged friend,

"M."

### Supplemental Note

As these reminiscences close upon Lord Morley's grateful recognition of service, I am tempted to add a later emphasis of the same point now that, in his chosen phrase, "the Evening Bell" has closed for him the last silence. Upon the appearance of his "Recollections" a friend of mine, endowed with a keen critical intelligence, wrote me her impressions of the book, winding up with this verdict:

"He also seems to set such a high value on the men he worked with, and the sense of friendship and trust among men—and what a rare taste in apt quotation! It is really a perfect adornment of his argument—the perfection of dress! About the absolute rightness of his so strongly expressed views and his frankness in expounding them, I feel I am no judge; but the man himself must surely be most lovable, as I think you always found him."

This I took the liberty to send Lord Morley, who replied as follows:

"*Jan.* 21, '16.

"My dear Sir Almeric,

"It is a downright kind thought of you to send me those *bona verba* of a sympathetic and good-natured reader. It is not vanity that makes me feel a ring of sincerity in them, and I do believe the lady when she fixes on my delight in association with fellow-workers in public business as a leading trait. And let me add how much pleasure I had in the thought that you had prejudiced her in my favour to begin with. You know my perpetual saying that the only man who can really judge a Minister in and out in all his moods and tenses, is the permanent head of his Department.

"Your letter found me, I am sorry to say, in rather a set-back as to strength. Wind and weather and years have been against me. All the more do I hope all possible good days for you

"Yours always sincerely,

"Morley [of B.]."

Some months before his death he returned to these pleasing recollections of joint public work in the words: "The time of

having the pleasure of your companionship in the Privy Council Office I always count among the happiest and friendliest memories of my official days."

*August 8th.*—Evidence grows of the violence and ineptitude of German policy. The Emperor writes and talks like the *énergumène* of King Edward's conversation with M. Loubet. Among the last words said to an English friend by Lichnowsky was, " My Emperor has hoodwinked me, and I have misled the English." There is no doubt that the German Declaration of War against Russia was timed to anticipate an agreement which Austria and Serbia were on the point of concluding. I saw Sir E. Goschen this afternoon and congratulated him on having emerged unscathed from the brutalities of Berlin. He did not look back on his last days there with any pleasure.

*August 9th.*—I walked across Green Park with Haldane this evening. He spoke with deep earnestness of the difficulties and possible disasters that lay before us, but was much cheered by testimony to the completeness with which the military arrangements have been carried out. General Bethune, the head of the Territorials, told him that, since the mobilisation, his department had only been troubled with six requests for direction. Haldane said that his offers of assistance to Asquith at the War Office were limited to the outbreak of war, when he urged the appointment of Kitchener. The latter, it appears, had some difficulty in recognising that he has not to begin the organisation of the army *de novo*, but merely takes over a highly perfected system, which he is asked to make the best of. However, he is very quick and very intelligent, so that any friction incidental to his first steps will soon disappear; 110,000 men will be on Belgian soil to-morrow, which Haldane modestly called a small force. His opinion of the German Army, based upon the opportunities of observation given him at Berlin, was interesting. While testifying to the mechanical perfection to which in every detail its organisation had been carried, he missed the personal inspiration and commanding individuality which in past times were so conspicuous. Among the ranks of the leaders there are no Moltkes or Roons or Blumenthals. He assured me there was a well-grounded belief that the German Emperor had yielded to the pressure of his Army Council, and took the fatal step of signing the Proclamation of War against Russia under protest. Their information was that he had declared to the assembled Councillors his conviction they would yet repent the decision that they compelled him to take.

Sir Edward Grey had been staying with him during the crisis ; and the relief to him, now that the course he pursued has been

so triumphantly endorsed by the nation, is immense. He has never had one qualm of hesitation or misgiving: there was only one thing to do, and that had to be done patiently, resolutely, and calmly. Haldane also spoke very feelingly of Lord Morley's resignation and the noble reticence which had characterised his withdrawal from public life. Nothing could have been quieter or more self-contained.

I saw Arthur Moore, whose friends at the Admiralty state that the War Staff is working with the greatest precision and efficiency. There was hardly a German vessel above 300 tons which had not been located in the last few days.

*August 10th.*—Council for winding up routine business, among which some emergency items were included. Beauchamp, Emmott, Allendale, and Granard attended. We heard that in the skirmish in the North Sea the previous day, the "Monarch" had been struck by a torpedo, which happily glanced off without exploding.

*August 11th.*—Still no active measures against Austria. The French were disinclined to force matters to an issue until they had withdrawn all disposable troops from Algeria. There has now, however, been a mutual withdrawal of Ambassadors consequent on it being proved, notwithstanding Berchtold's denial, that Austrian troops are on the Rhine; but the two Powers are not actually committed by any formal declaration, and meanwhile our hands are stayed. The Japanese are about to intervene, and Kiaochow, with the German naval base there, will be the first object of attack. A force from India is proceeding to Egypt to liberate the English garrison, and another may be employed in S.E. Africa. The Australians will occupy German New Guinea, and the New Zealanders Samoa; thus the German Colonial Ensign will vanish.

*August 13th.*—Information reached me at 7.15 last night that a Council would be necessary at ten o'clock for the declaration of a state of war with Austria. I therefore gave instructions that the list of business should be ready, and I obtained the attendance of Beauchamp, Granard, Allendale, and Sir W. Carington. Granard had got hold of an extraordinary story that the Duchesse de Croy and the Prince d'Arenberg had been shot in Belgium as German spies!

Madame de Lalaing, Mrs. Forster, and Beauchamp came to luncheon. Madame de Lalaing was in very good spirits, and heard with complete unconcern the alleged fate of the Duchesse de Croy, who was in prison on the charge when she left Belgium. Mrs. Forster bore in her eyes and mien the stress of having but yesterday parted with her eldest son, who is among those with the Expeditionary Force now massed in the North of France. However, she spoke of the event with calmness and the tranquil courage which is one of the ornaments of her spirit.

*August* 14*th.*—A man connected with the Office of Works who came through France via Rheims and Havre yesterday, gives a vivid account of the reception of British troops in France. Every village through which they passed turned out to accord its enthusiastic welcome, the best the inhabitants could offer in the way of food and drink was lavishly bestowed, the highway notices were all repeated in the English tongue, and French and English officers were to be seen studying maps and sharing confidences over the coming struggle.

Sir D. MacAlister was with me for some time. He was at Ems on the outbreak of war with his wife and daughter, and had gone through a series of adventures which at any moment might have compromised the safety of the whole party. Fortunately, he has an intimate knowledge of German, and the distinction which he enjoys in the medical and educational world won for him the consideration and assistance of influential Germans. First sent to Nassau, then to Frankfort, with five other ladies, besides his wife and daughter, who had no one to look after them, he obtained passes from persons in authority and the necessary funds from private benevolence, one man exchanging some of his English notes at 17*s.* in the £1, and another freely lending him a considerable sum. Thus furnished, they proceeded slowly to Cologne, the line being crowded with soldiers. Some of the Englishwomen behaved disgracefully ; instead of exhibiting the patience and self-restraint called for by the commonest prudence, seeing that everything was being done that was possible on their behalf, they gave rein to their tongues, and, at the risk of provoking reprisals, were loud-mouthed in their complaints of the " indignities " to which English " ladies " were forced to submit. From Cologne they were despatched to Rotterdam in a steamboat, crowded with refugees from health and holiday resorts along the Rhine. At Wesel, their last stopping-place in Germany, all the men of the party between the ages of twenty and forty-five were detained as possible combatants and therefore prisoners of war.

*August* 16*th.*—At three o'clock I repaired to the Treasury Solicitor for a conference upon a point raised by the India Office in connection with the new Prize Rules. It appears that there are several German vessels lying in Indian ports which it is proposed to requisition for the conveyance of troops to Egypt, but for which no power exists until the new rules now on their way to India are proclaimed there by the Viceroy. The impression in the India Office was that a way out of the difficulty would be found by Order in Council, a process which has been so extensively used lately, that public departments are beginning to look upon it as the *deus ex machinâ* of administrative expedients. It was pointed out to them, however, that in this particular instance it

could not be done without repeal of the existing Prize Rules, which would leave the Indian Court without any for a fortnight; and it was finally decided, as I had urged in the first instance, that they should arrange with the Admiralty Court in India to act in anticipation of the new Rules, giving an undertaking prior to requisition that the prescribed conditions would be fulfilled.

*August 19th.*—A leading merchant who had seized the opportunity to make a corner in sugar, and, as a salve to his conscience, subscribed £20,000 to the Prince of Wales's Fund, was sent for by McKenna, who communicated his intention to buy his sugar under the powers conferred on the Government. The merchant smiled acquiescence, but his countenance fell when the Secretary of State added that the price would be 18*s.* per cwt., he having bargained for 35*s.* He left the Home Office in a state of profound dejection.

The Chilian Minister, Mrs. Forster, and George Cunningham came to luncheon. Edwards told us that his great-grandfather went to Chile as a naval officer with Cochrane in the War of Independence. At the present moment the Chilian Government are very anxious to purchase the German ships laid up in Chilian ports, with a view to the export of nitrates, the trade in which to Germany is suspended, to the United States and England. The Foreign Office are not well disposed to the plan, as every project of the kind means an improvement in Germany's monetary position.

*August 20th.*—Council this morning for a Proclamation in amendment of the preceding one touching the exportation of goods, and various Orders in Council necessitated by the war. Beauchamp, Islington, Hopwood, and Sir W. Carington attended. The King took considerable interest in an Order under the Aliens Restriction Act for the suppression of a German newspaper, which, it has just been discovered, is published twice a week in London and contains matter of the most virulent kind. Islington told me that an expeditionary force, escorted by ships of the Australian fleet, was already on its way from New Zealand to Samoa. The colonial contingent which is under orders for European service would amount to 60,000 men in all, and, as far as the New Zealand contingent was concerned, the authorities had agreed to maintain it at the required number, 9,000, throughout the war.

*August 21st.*—The fall of Brussels has been accepted with composure as a mere incident in a scheme of larger concern. Kitchener, I understand, regards it as a matter of no significance, and, so far as it may encourage the German advance on the lines upon which a reception is prepared for them, it may be of positive advantage.

The prospect of a prorogation next week has improved. The

Welsh problem has been settled by an agreement to postpone the disendowment clauses, and the parties to the Irish controversy are appreciably nearer concord.

*August 24th.*—The fall of Namur, followed by the retirement of the Allied forces on to the French frontier, bears testimony to the overwhelming strength of the German attack at this particular spot.

French has asked for 10,000 more troops, so there is a fear that the casualties incurred during yesterday's action are heavy. I understand the intention of the Government is to maintain the flow of reinforcements at as uniform a level as possible, and the progress of the war will not interfere with this resolve.

My brother-in-law, Robert Anstruther, died. He had long been in the grip of a shaking palsy, which has glued him to his bed for nine years and of late entirely destroyed his mind. His military career went back to the Indian Mutiny, and terminated with the Suakin expedition in 1885. He was subsequently Member for the Woodbridge division of Suffolk. No kindlier spirit ever guided the simple and direct faith of an English gentleman.

*August 26th.*—Davies [1] and Alfred Codrington, whom I saw at luncheon, are delighted with the accounts of British shooting on Sunday which have come to hand; its coolness and precision left nothing to be desired, and the German losses must have been appallingly heavy. In protecting the retreat some of the cavalry got hung up by wire impediments, and the principal casualties occurred at this point.

Marcia Astley-Corbett, whose husband was engaged in the battle, came to dinner. She, poor child, is very anxious; and no wonder, seeing the obscurity which shrouds all that is going on; but she has the courage to busy herself in as much active work as she can find. Violet Dalrymple [2] came in after dinner. Her husband is expecting orders at any moment, but for the present is laid up with the effect of inoculation for enteric.

*August 28th.*—Council this morning, for the introduction of new Prize Regulation, which will make the distribution of prize-money consistent with the general interest of those serving in the Fleet. Beauchamp, Colebrooke, W. Carington, and F. Hopwood attended. The King had heard news which seemed to throw some doubt upon the power of the British troops to reach the point in the line assigned to them; but, as the afternoon wore on, fresh information was received which tended to reassure the Government. There is no question that the fighting on Wednesday was of a terrible character, and the losses heavy, but the net result is brighter laurels for the British contingent, notwithstanding the fact that, owing to some misunderstanding,

[1] General Sir F. Davies.

[2] Now Countess of Stair.

they did not receive the support from the French which they had a right to expect.

*August 29th.*—We attended Wilfrid Ashley's wedding at the Savoy Chapel, and afterwards went to luncheon at Mrs. Kerr Smiley's house in Belgrave Square. Sir Ernest Cassel was among the guests, which struck me as a generous act, for the memory of his daughter must have played a poignant part in his recollections. He seemed to entertain no doubt of this country's solvency, whatever the pressure to which she might be subject.

*September 1st.*—A Council this afternoon for the extension of the Moratorium and a new Order in Council under the Defence of the Realm Act, which makes the writing of anything calculated to alarm the civilian population an offence punishable by penal servitude for life. Beauchamp, Wimborne, Colebrooke, and Sir W. Carington attended. Wimborne came without a frock-coat, a curious oversight in a Lord-in-Waiting, and had to be fitted out by Derek Keppel. The Queen of the Belgians had been at the Palace for luncheon. She is full of resolution and courage.

*September 3rd.*—At 4.15 this afternoon Liddell came over to ask for the submission of a Proclamation entirely recasting the Moratorium arrangements. It appears that it had been overlooked that there were many debtors ready and desirous to acquit themselves of their obligations, which they were prevented doing by the further postponement of all bill-accepting for another month. It is curious that this should have escaped the sagacity of the Attorney-General and his advisers, and it is a little humiliating to press for the revocation of a Proclamation barely two days old ; but it had to be done at once, as the original Moratorium which the revised one is intended to vary expires to-morrow. With some difficulty I collared the Lord President, Islington, Jack Pease, and Sir W. Carington by seven o'clock, and, by keeping a good many people out of their beds, the Proclamation will be on the walls of the Mansion House by 8 a.m.

There is nothing more remarkable than the persistence and universality of the legend that large bodies of Russian troops, brought from Archangel to Aberdeen, have been passing through England *en route* for the seat of war. Originally started, perhaps, by some inventive humorist, or more probably owing to someone having seen the weird figures of Lovat's Scouts and heard them talking Gaelic, it is now an article of faith with residents in the country throughout Great Britain. Though no one can be produced who has actually seen a Russian, an incredible number of persons have seen someone who has heard from others that Russians have most certainly appeared at places so far apart as Bath, Reading, and Northampton. In all parts the railway service has been held up for trains, with blinds drawn, loaded with Russians: drawn blinds are, it appears, the most

infallible evidence, and you cannot question the accuracy of the rumour, or dispute the data upon which it is alleged to rest, without incurring a scarcely veiled incredulity or even a suggestion of mendacity. I very nearly forfeited Lord Haversham's good opinion by venturing to doubt the grounds of his confidence, and two days afterwards received a letter which is a most signal example of the use of hearsay to prove a point. Meanwhile, neither the Foreign Office nor the War Office have the slightest information on the subject, and A. Nicolson tells me he has ceased to contradict the report. The paucity of authentic news is perhaps responsible for the avidity with which fiction is devoured.

*September 7th.*—Lord Crewe, in common with other members of the Cabinet, is using the Travellers' in lieu of Brooks's, and I had a long conversation with him after luncheon. He looks forward to a prorogation before the end of next week, and permits himself to think that a provisional agreement on the Irish question will be reached by that time. He described two strong counter-currents of feeling, common to both sides: first, an unshaken conviction that nothing should be done to bring the issue into acute controversy, at this moment, and, secondly, a deep-seated suspicion that use might be made of the opportunity to obtain an undue advantage on one side or the other. Accepting as agreed that nothing can be done touching Ulster, which the representatives of that province do not regard as a satisfactory recognition of their claims, he thought the placing of the Act on the Statute Book with a clause postponing its operation until a settlement of the Ulster problem was reached by an amending Act could not, in the long run, be resisted.

He told me that nothing relating to the war had stirred the feelings of nationalist Ireland so much as the burning of Louvain. Before the institution of Maynooth, that university was the resort of all Irish Catholics who sought a University degree in connection with admission to the priesthood, and even now the most ambitious and able of Catholic entrants into Orders still go to that University. The disaster, therefore, that has overtaken it appeals to a sentiment that rests not only on present ties, but on past tradition.

For the first time Kitchener appeared at the Cabinet in a cheerful mood: he imparted to his colleagues that a turning movement on the German right to the north of Paris was in progress which might have the most important results.

*September 9th.*—I dined last night with the Edward Hopes; Lady Kerry was the fourth. Kerry is in command of the reserve battalion of the Irish Guards, which a few days ago was in a state of mutiny owing to the desire to go to the front. He has, I understand, now brought the men under perfect control.

Council at three o'clock for various Orders dictated by present

circumstances and a fresh Proclamation, which it is hoped will place the problem of trading with the enemy on a satisfactory basis. The present instrument has the merit of attempting to make people understand what is permissible and what is prohibited. Beauchamp, Islington, W. Carington, and F. Hopwood attended.

In the evening I went down to Wimbledon to dine with Lord Morley. Neville Lyttelton and Valentine Chirol, with Lord Morley's nephew, completed the party. Retirement from office seemed to have lifted a weight off our host's shoulders: I have not seen him so bright and vivacious for a long time. He encouraged the freest possible expression of opinion on the war and German methods of conducting it. With some reserves, he was not far from agreement that much that had happened since the beginning of the campaign went to strengthen the case for intervention, but at the bottom of his mind there was still the embarrassing question whether the preponderance of Russia, which must follow from a successful war, would not be a greater menace to Europe than any Germany could offer. Chirol, in reply to a direct appeal on the point, said there was nothing in his knowledge of the German officer which rendered the current stories of their brutality in the least degree improbable. In China he had overheard a German officer of high standing describe to two much younger men atrocities to which he had been a party, treating the whole subject with a pitiless cruelty. The sensuality which had become such a marked feature in certain ranks of German society was likely to be attended with outbursts of callous and brutal savagery, for that is what he believed had occurred in Belgium and France on a very large scale. Jules Cambon, in his flight from Berlin at the outbreak of war, had told him of German ladies wearing the Red Cross and refusing a cup of cold water to a French child who was suffering in the train from the tortures of thirst.

*September 19th.*—Ammerdown. I came here yesterday, hoping to stay till Wednesday, but at dinner-time, within two hours of my arrival, I received a telegram stating that the King would hold a Council at 6 p.m. on Monday. This morning I learnt that the object of urgency was to seize some ships laden with hæmatite iron ore for Krupp's factory, and it was necessary at once to declare the substance in question conditional contraband. A list of casualties published to-day contains the name of Jack Forster, killed on the 14th. Thus early have his dear mother's fears been realised. Just twenty-one, with barely more than a year's service, he has joined the muster-roll of the fallen in the noblest cause for which the sword was ever drawn. One thinks most at such a moment of the sorrow which his death consecrates. It is on the mothers in these cases that compassion turns; the

young wives after a time reconstruct their lives, but the mother's heart remains to the last stricken and uncompensated. I dare not measure in this case her grief. The braver the heart, the deeper the wound, and the more remote "the far-off interest of tears." The soul must make its own pact with sorrow, and no friend's feeling can do more than sentinel its inmost shrine.

*September 21st.*—I was glad I had not hesitated to return for the Council, as both the King and Beauchamp were gracious in their acknowledgments. Lucas, Emmott, and Islington were the others present.

*September 30th.*—I saw Aubrey Herbert, the second time he has been out since his wound: he explodes the story fathered on him that, seeing a German soldier prodding the wounded, he accosted him in his best German, which so flabbergasted the miscreant that he slunk off. On the contrary, he saw nothing to justify aspersions on the German soldiery except the presence of some serrated bayonets. He has nothing but praise for the care and kindness he received from the enemy, until the place where he was lying was reoccupied by the French.

A curious story, truer than some, touches the fortunes of the three sons of Charlie Balfour. The eldest, Jamie, in the Coldstream, was severely wounded and sent to the hospital in the Trianon Hôtel. On being helped out at Versailles, he was astonished to find the station patrolled by the London Scottish. A wild whoop from a private discovered the presence of his next brother, Duncan, who had enlisted a few weeks ago, and knew no more of his brother's wound than *he* did of the other's having enlisted. The third brother was surprised by the war at Bonn. Having no money, and being unable to get away, he has become a waiter at one of the hotels, and writes that he was never so well or happy in his life. A singular variety of experiences to befall three members of one family.

Council this evening. Beauchamp, Emmott, Islington, and Sir W. Carington. Islington told the King some of the details of the surprise of a British force, when a patrol of 250 men surrendered to some 2,000 Germans. I gather that the Canadian contingent was to leave to-morrow, and may be expected here in about ten or twelve days.

*October 7th.*—I was troubled to hear of Sir W. Carington's death. He had been summoned to the Council to-morrow. The shock of his wife's loss last November had left him broken in spirit, and of late he had not been looking well. He was a faithful servant of the Crown, and I aways found him a very pleasant associate in State business.

*October 8th.*—I was present at the Memorial Service for Clarendon, which was largely attended. In the days when he was Lord Chamberlain he was always ready to be of use to the Privy Council,

and I could always reply upon his assistance in connection with ceremonial functions. Some nervousness impaired his value as an official, but he was painstaking and straightforward, courteous and accommodating, and beneath a somewhat rigid manner had warmth of heart and generous intentions.

At the Council this evening we had three Cabinet Ministers: Beauchamp, Sir J. Simon, and McKinnon Wood; out of respect to Sir W. Carington's memory, I did not fill up his place.

*October 9th.*—The situation in Antwerp is desperate. The resolution to defend it had been abandoned when, last Friday, Winston Churchill repaired there, and with characteristic impetuosity overbore the military and political considerations which weighed with the Belgian authorities, and stimulated their courage by the promise of some heavy ordnance and the immediate despatch of 9,000 Marines and two sections of the newly organised Naval Brigade.

*October 12th.*—I came down to Ammerdown with the object of spending four nights in the country, a respite I greatly appreciated in an atmosphere of remoteness and tranquillity.

The tide of Belgian refugees has swept so far to the West, and at Longleat this afternoon, where I spent an hour in talking to Lady Bath, I found they had provided for some forty to fifty. The interest and intelligence she threw into the work of organising their relief from her sofa was very touching to follow. Bath had arranged for a Mass to be celebrated for their benefit in his private chapel yesterday, which struck me as a very generous act of consideration, for which he deserves high praise.

*October 13th.*—Our enterprise at Antwerp has ended in the fiasco which is sure to attend an ill-digested and impromptu intervention. Park Goff, who is acting as a King's Messenger, gave Cunningham an account of what had passed under his personal observation, which lost nothing in graphic acerbity from the fact of his violent political antipathy to Winston Churchill, who, according to him, had made the English name to stink in the nostrils of every Belgian. Winston, he said, had convoked the military authorities at Antwerp and explained to them their duty, and had even gone so far, in an interview with that much-tried man the King of the Belgians, as to take the direction of the Kingdom out of his hands! In spite of this highly coloured narrative, I believe the instinct which prompted the effort was sound, and it remains an arguable proposition that the arrest of the German advance was just long enough to save Dunkirk and possibly Calais from falling into the hands of the enemy. Nearly 2,000 Naval Reservists and Volunteers passed into Dutch territory. One officer had the courage to disobey the order, and took a considerable number of men into safety. The whole force, including the Belgians, might have been saved if they had

had the fortitude to await the return of the trains; but, fearing the approach of the Germans, they deemed a retirement into neutral territory the most prudent course.

*October 14th.*—At the Council this evening Parliament was further prorogued to November 11th, then to meet for the despatch of business. Beauchamp, Haldane, Wimborne, and Islington attended. I heard that the Canadian contingent were disembarking at Plymouth, the intention that they should land at Southampton having been frustrated by the discovery of German submarines, or at least one of them, near the Isle of Wight. It appears that its presence has been known for some little time, as an attack was made upon the 7th Division, and one transport narrowly missed being struck by a torpedo.

*October 20th.*—The Cabinet did not meet till to-day; Lloyd George and Simon had employed the interval in a motor tour along the Allied lines in Belgium and the North of France, during which they actually entered the trenches. Lloyd George regaled his colleagues with a graphic description of what he had seen, and emphasised the importance of the spade in the present campaign.

A member of the Naval Brigade, which went on the ill-starred expedition to Antwerp, is now in London, and states that, belonging to that section of the force that was interned in Holland, he had been compelled to cross the frontier at the point of the bayonet; but, breaking away, accompanied by some thirty or forty others, he effected a junction with the main body without the least difficulty. Other testimony is coming to hand from participants in the expedition of the defects in training and equipment from which the force suffered: defects so general and so patent, that its employment in such an enterprise becomes almost incomprehensible.

M. Cambon has delivered himself of a sarcastic comment upon Italian procrastination: "L'Italie! elle volera au secours de la victoire."

*October 26th.*—On Friday evening I had a pressing intimation from Barnes, of the Board of Trade, that McKenna, supported by Runciman, wanted a Council on Saturday to give effect to his scheme for the total exclusion of German-grown sugar from the British Empire. However, as they had not taken the trouble to speak to Beauchamp on the subject, and allowed him to go off to Worcestershire in ignorance of any demand for a Council, I was very reluctant to admit the plea of urgeney and insisted upon the matter being postponed till to-day, which I considered would give the authorities all the opportunity they required. This view was apparently accepted, as I heard nothing further till this morning, when we received the Proclamation in question.

The Council was held at 6 p.m. Knollys, Harcourt, and Sir

George Reid came. Beauehamp managed that the last-named should have an audience of the King, and to that extent the summoning such persons is fruitful of good. It is of great service to the King that he should be brought into touch with all who are serving the Empire at this crisis, and the part being played by the British Dominions beyond the seas calls for constant recognition.

Fritz Ponsonby, as was expected, is to be the new Keeper of the Privy Purse.

*October 29th.*—The revision of the Contraband Acts, with a view to soothing the susceptibilities of the United States, has given rise to some difficulty. The heads of an agreement with Washington were reached, but, on the arrival of the French representatives, it appeared as if their acquiescence could not be obtained. The matter was before the Cabinet yesterday, and as the result I was informed that the Council provisionally fixed for this morning would not be required, and the Cabinct would meet again to-morrow to come to a final decision. This was inconvenient, as we had hoped to dispose of the matter before the King went to Sandringham, and it seemed as if we should have to disturb his brief holiday. However, at 7 p.m., I heard from Crewe that the French had withdrawn their objections and there was no obstacle to the submission of the Proclamation this morning. Accordingly we had a Council for the purpose, at which Beauchamp, Knollys, and Sandhurst were present. Sir E. Grey, who had agreed to come, was prevented at the last moment. Minute-guns were fired in the Park at the hour of Sir C. Douglas's funeral.

*October 30th.*—I went into the country last night in the hope of having a clear day in which to do some planting, but the action of Turkish ships in the Black Sea led me to expeet recall, and a telegram reached me by midday. I was at the office by 3.30, shortly after which Harold Nicolson came from the Foreign Office to acquaint me with the features of the situation. It appears that Mallet called on the Porte and learnt from the Grand Vizier and the Minister of the Interior that the Turkish Government were not responsible, as the ships in question were acting under the orders of Enver Bay. It was hoped to obtain some official representation to this effect, and meanwhile the Russian Ambassador, who took things very calmly, was not doing anything to precipitate his departure. Our Government were scrupulous to avoid an attack upon Turkey, as they wished to leave with her the full responsibility for a rupture; but she had been formally warned to be careful. The Army, Nicolson said, were as a whole opposed to Enver, but he had taken care to remove from Constantinople all but the troops upon which he could rely. The Egyptian Government had the situation well in hand, and there was no apprehension of a successful invasion.

The Chilian Minister told me just now that in an interview, a few days ago, with the Chief Secretary of the Turkish Embassy, he had mentioned what appeared to him the dubious intention of Turkey, whereupon the other said, " Nous observons un peu une neutralité militante."

*October* 31*st.*—Matters at Constantinople have matured more rapidly than was expected. Mallet has left, but the Allied Governments are still holding their hands.

The replacement of Prince Louis of Battenberg by Lord Fisher is a prudent step: the efficiency of Prince Louis is not what it was, and the prejudice excited by his birth impaired his usefulness in the position he has vacated. Lack of judgment in minor particulars, such as the employment of German servants, has given some semblance of excuse for the charge of German sympathies with which he has been assailed.

I hear that for weeks past Sir Arthur Wilson has been working at the Admiralty on the condition that profound secrecy should be maintained as to his presence there.

*November* 2*nd.*—Though we were told this morning that a Council would be wanted to-morrow, on the strength of which we communicated with the King at Sandringham, later information pointed to a relaxation of tension at Constantinople, with some ultimate hope of a way out. The statement that Mallet had left proved untrue, and the obvious sincerity of the Grand Vizier's dismay affords some prospect of a return to more normal conditions. There is grave doubt, however, whether the Turkish Government can be brought to the dismissal of the German officers.

I met George Buckle, who feared that the entry of Turkey into the war would endanger the accord of the Allies when the future of Constantinople came to be settled. I told him I should like to see Russia there, not with any territory connecting it with her present boundaries, but in occupation thereof as a kind of Gibraltar of the Black Sea. It would, of course, be necessary to include the peninsula of Gallipoli and such positions on the Asiatic coast as would render the possession of the city safe. In these circumstances Russia would be a permanent obstacle to the renewal of German intrigue in the Euphrates Valley, and also an important factor in the maintenance of the balance of power in the Mediterranean. Buckle was decidedly impressed by these considerations.

*November* 5*th.*—After many fluctuations of purpose, in the result of which the Council arranged for yesterday evening was cancelled, the Foreign Office were at last prepared to deal with the Turkish crisis decisively. A Council was held this morning (present, Beauchamp, Crewe, Knollys, and Sandhurst), at which cognizance was taken of the state of war, and an Order in Council

annexing Cyprus approved. Prince Louis of Battenberg, the innocent victim of a reasonable agitation, was sworn a Member of the Privy Council. In conversation about the naval action in the Pacific, he bore testimony to the signal way in which the Chilian Government had discharged its duty as a neutral, policing the whole length of its territorial waters and giving armed protection from German interference to merchantmen. The "Good Hope" is said to have been a very bad ship to fight in a seaway, and if, as appears from the inability of the Germans to save any of the "Monmouth's" crew, the sea was very rough, that may account for the little effect the "Good Hope" was able to produce by her bigger guns.

The Duke of Buccleuch died this morning: the end came suddenly after a good night. His elder daughter was torn from his side to say farewell to her husband, whose battalion of Territorials is ordered to the front. Of such are the silent tragedies enacted within the great shadow of the war.

*November* 10*th.*—Council to-day for the King's Speech: a brief but pointed document which well voiced the feeling of the nation. Beauchamp, H. Samuel, Sandhurst, and Allendale were present. A Proclamation consolidating all the present instruments dealing with exportation was signed: a much-needed step in the interest of the simplification of procedure.

*November* 12*th.*—The nomination of Sheriffs was marked by the very large number of exemptions on the score of service in some branch or other of the military forces of the Crown.

I was sixty-three to-day. The critical year of life thus coincides with this first year of war. Shall I see the end of it, and, if so, with what feelings shall I look back upon its record?

A small party of friends came to dinner: the Hyltons, Edward and Lady Hope, Cis Mountgarret, Hugh Godley, and Alexander Bannerman. Nothing of the kind can exorcise the spectre of which every heart is now the home.

*November* 19*th.*—The scare of the week has been the alleged prospect of a raid upon the East Coast, to meet which troops in large quantities were hurried from Midland and Western stations into Yorkshire and East Anglia. There were no doubt movements of transports in the Kiel Canal which gave some warrant for precaution, but they were really destined for the Baltic, to the eastern ports of which men and material were being sent to meet the Russian advance.

*November* 30*th.*—A Council was held this morning for the approval of the new Order under the Amended Defence of the Realm Act, which received the Royal Assent yesterday. Beauchamp, Sandhurst, Knollys, and Sir Edward Goschen were present. The last-named's attendance was an innovation, which he appreciated, and proved agreeable to the King. Ponsonby was sworn.

Men are now coming home for two or three days on furlough and are letting people into knowledge of facts which the reticence of the Press Bureau has hitherto veiled. In one case a whole division is said to have been reduced to 1,000 effectives, and in many units 70 to 80 per cent. of the officers are either dead or disabled.

*December* 11*th*.—The circumstances which led to the destruction of the German squadron off the Falkland Islands were largely fortuitous. Nothing was known of their whereabouts by Admiral Sturdee, who had put into the islands in order to replenish his bunkers, when the Germans hove in sight with the intention of effecting a temporary occupation and obtaining such supplies as their ships required. Recognising themselves to be in the presence of a vastly superior force, they had no choice but to proceed northwards at their best speed, with the result known. It appears that Winston Churchill had taken the Coronel disaster very much to heart, and was determined on this occasion to run no risks. Both in speed and armament the enemy was outclassed.

*December* 17*th*.—The German squadron employed in slaughtering women and children on the north-east coast were within an ace of being cornered. Information reached the Fleet at Cromarty late on the previous night, describing the intentions of the raiders, and it was the arrival of a strong force from that rendezvous that brought the bombardment to a sudden end. But for a thick blanket of fog that most inopportunely came up, the whole squadron would probably have been rounded up: indeed, so certain were Winston Churchill and Fisher of the result of their dispositions, that when they failed they did not think it worth while to record the loss of one of the enemy's destroyers. Winston is naturally very well pleased with the precision of the warning that reached the Admiralty, and claims to have better spies than the Germans.

*December* 18*th*.—George Pitt-Rivers, still suffering from his wound, came to luncheon, also Miss Gwen Nicolson and Miss Haldane. According to his sister, Haldane has undergone the most cruel disillusionment of his life, in the revelation of German arrogance and brutality which the war has produced. He feels tainted in the spiritual descent of which he was so proud.

*December* 19*th*.—Frank Farquhar left for the Front to-day, in command of his battalion of Canadians (Princess Patricia's Light Infantry). His military capacity is undoubted, and the quality of the regiment is ensured by the large proportion (two-thirds) of ex-soldiers, mainly Guardsmen, which it contains.

*December* 23*rd*.—Council this morning. Beauchamp, Spencer, Birrell, and Fritz Ponsonby attended. We recast the scheme of contraband which has been the subject of close negotiation with

the French. Spencer had offered his attendance whenever wanted, and seemed very pleased to be in touch again with the administrative machine. He is back in Spencer House, which affords him much gratification. He found the house left in a state of indescribable filth. Characteristically, his revolt against the pollution has led him to alter his telephone number: he could not even use the same notation. Happily, the King gave Birrell an audience after the Council, and must at any rate have derived some amusement from the interview. His Majesty has strong views upon the Irish seditious Press, which Birrell says is never seen except on the tables of English people to whom papers are sent by their Irish friends. Fritz Ponsonby seemed to think Wimborne would succeed Aberdeen; he doubts whether Herbert Gladstone will yield to pressure and go.

## 1915

*January 7th.*—The first Council of the year took place to-day, the total of last year being thirty-seven, or three times in excess of the mean. I procured the attendance of Maurice de Bunsen, Beauchamp, Sandhurst, and Fritz Ponsonby. Maurice de Bunsen, whom the King kept after the Council, told me that he had several letters from Vienna under the hand of the American Ambassador, which confirmed the statement made in the newspapers of the complete ignorance in which not only the populace but society in the city were kept upon what was happening in Galicia and the other theatres of war.

*January 12th.*—H. Wilson, Deputy Chief of the Staff, has been over here for a few days and speaks with confidence of the future. He makes a curious comparison upon the condition of the three armies: the Germans, he holds, have deteriorated greatly since the commencement of the war, the English somewhat, whereas the French have enormously improved, and he has the most unbounded admiration for their exploits. The Indian troops have proved something of a disappointment, largely through the force of circumstances having compelled their employment in tasks unfitted to their peculiar genius for war. Their service in trenches is alien to their habits, and in the case of the Gurkhas, who might soon have adapted themselves to it, they are too small to use the trenches made by our men, and on one notable occasion, when seriously attacked and incapable of opening fire on their assailants, they broke and fled. A loss of some thousands was subsequently incurred in retaking the positions they had abandoned. The climate, too, has been against them. The composite character of the army has clearly militated against its homogeneity in action, and for the moment its efficiency is impaired; but new levies of first-rate quality are ready to take the field, and

some fresh units trained in India are still available and included in the next division to proceed to the Front.

Haldane was at Madresfield for Sunday. He said that the Grand Duke Nicholas is assisted by two military professors from the Universities, who are perpetually at his elbow working out from scientific premisses every military problem that presents itself.

*January* 15*th*–17*th*.—I went to Duncombe Park for the funeral of my uncle, Lord Feversham, whose long illness, after an acute stage of three days, terminated on Wednesday, just a fortnight before his eighty-sixth birthday. "Le long de la vie," says a French writer, "des choses aimées nous disent adieu," and it is signally the case in this instance, for in all the patrimony of my past, the place itself and that which it holds of memory and association figure very largely. There much of my childhood was spent, there I was in touch with the hopes and desires of youth, there, throughout the years of active life I constantly returned to the enjoyment of things which enriched and ennobled it, and there, on the threshold of old age, I am come to pay the last tribute to him around whom through the forty-eight years of his possession so many memories cluster.

The whole family were present; the three daughters, looking lovely in their black robes—Helen d'Abernon might easily have been taken for the youngest, so lithe and slight was her figure. The morning of Saturday broke dark and stormful, squall after squall bursting in fury across the plain, but by luncheon the clouds gave place to sunshine, though a bitter north-west wind still served to remind us of winter. The body was borne to Helmsley on a farm lorry drawn by two powerful black horses, the mourners following on foot. A great crowd invaded the courtyard, and in due course took up their position behind the *cortège*, constantly augmented as we neared the town. The church was thronged, as well as its approaches. The Archbishop of York took up the service at the graveside, after having said a few just words, standing at the head of the coffin in the chancel. The grave was between that of his parents and his sons. There is always something poignant in the homecoming of the generations, and here it lacked nothing of the pathos which is the enduring possession of mankind.

I stayed till the following morning, so that, being one of the executors, I could have an interview with the lawyer, and returned to London with Edgar d'Abernon, motoring into York to catch the 12.20 train.

Nothing could have been more admirable than the carriage and demeanour of Charlie Helmsley. In the difficult position of a grandson's succession, he won all hearts by the quiet dignity and tactful kindness with which he discharged his obligations. It is consoling to think that he so worthily follows the large-

THE EARL OF FEVERSHAM.

hearted and most courteous gentleman whom we laid in the grave.

*January 26th.*—The action in the North Sea vindicates the Admiralty's claim to early and exact information. It was known on Saturday by dinner-time that the German squadron were on the way, and every disposition was promptly made for their reception. Of all the naval engagements which have so far taken place, this was most complete in the representation of all the ships concerned and in the thoroughness and success with which the attack was pressed home. There was not a ship wanting in the discharge of the task assigned to her, and all participated in the glory.

*January 29th.*—Lord Morley, Lord Knollys, and Sir A. Nicolson dined with me last night at the Travellers.' The first, in a note this morning, thus records his impressions: "May I say that I never had a pleasanter dinner in all my life: just the right number and the right company; the *chef* and cellar perfect, the rooms fascinating. I owe you my cordial thanks. I shall not soon forget it. Yours always sincerely, M."

It indeed proved a happy arrangement. The meeting of men of wide experience in diverse fields of energy and responsibility is always interesting, and there is an added grace in the commerce of minds of high capacity and fastidious outlook. Lord Morley said he had come with some apprehension of a hostile atmosphere, and was gratified to find an almost sympathetic understanding of his position. There is certainly no one who can maintain a strongly controversial thesis in a less provocative spirit. The justice of his complaint that there had been a want of frankness in the disclosures to the Cabinet prior to the crisis was recognised by Nicolson, who attributed it to parliamentary exigencies, or, as Lord Morley preferred to call it, "the faultiness of Cabinet liability." He added a note of grave displeasure when he came to Haldane's dealings with Germany and the credulous belief that his missions to Berlin were productive of great and lasting results. Nicolson surprised me by the gentle tolerance of his references to the Kaiser's eccentricities, which won Lord Morley's esteem, and they both spoke with stern condemnation of the efforts to present him as a hero of comic opera.

Lord Morley mentioned that Lord Loreburn, with whom his relations had never been particularly cordial, had been trying to engage him in a parliamentary attack upon his old colleagues, but he would have nothing to do with it, though the time would come, if he lived long enough, when he should have his say. He acknowledged great soreness towards two of them, who, he thought, if there was to be any hanging of the Kaiser on a lamp-post, ought to be there too, though they were friends of his, and Englishmen. His belief that we could have avoided a share in the struggle

hardly allowed for the presumption of complicity which past policy created, nor did he seem to estimate quite adequately the relation in which we should then have stood to our partners in the *Entente* and the impression the Germans would have had of our pusillanimity. There are doubtless many arguable points as to the extent of our commitments and the liberty we enjoyed in dealing with them, but the obstacle in the way of these being fairly considered at the time lay in the frightful acceleration of the preliminary period, during which Europe passed from a condition of profound peace to one of general war. In little more than eight days our whole position had to be reviewed and the ultimate consequences of every step weighed. For that urgeney and that precipitation of events Germany must bear, at the bar of history, the whole blame: indeed, she does not deny it in maintaining that, for her, rapidity of movement was a matter of life and death. In that awful moment quick views were essential to her opponents, and small blame to them if they felt the force of the categorical imperative imposed by the foe.

*February 1st.*—At the Venereal Diseases Commission this afternoon discussion arose on the propriety of sitting two days a week for the consideration of the Report, which some members, notably Mrs. Creighton and Canon Horsley, had the desire to hurry forward. I protested, first, on the ground of other preoccupations, and, secondly, because I held that it was of more importance to discuss the problem calmly than quickly, emphasising the point that, to secure that object, we should be careful not to see too much of each other. It is notorious that Cabinets avoid sitting, if they can help it, more than once a week, and a Cabinet Minister once told me that nothing undermined Cabinet efficiency so rapidly as continuous sitting in the House of Commons, involving the constant contact of Ministers and the antipathies it bred.

Mrs. Creighton and Canon Horsley, in the true spirit of clerical dogmatism, cannot detach themselves from the special prepossessions in which training, and, in the lady's case, a certain bias, have soaked them, and would, I believe, be guilty of any manœuvre to reduce the weight of the official section in the deliberations of the Commission. Canon Horsley, it is true, claims to represent nothing but his own bald inspirations, which he deems authoritative, if not divine; but Mrs. Creighton cannot think except in the terms of woman, jaundiced and embittered by the exaggerations of *amour-propre*. There is no woman's question, or, for the matter of that, man's in the issues we have to try, but solely one touching the community and the State.

*February 3rd.*—Council at Buckingham Palace. Beauchamp, Harcourt, Knollys, and Sandhurst. The new Privy Councillors, Mr. Henderson, Chairman of the Labour Party, Sir W. Mac-

gregor and Lord Justice Bankes, were sworn in. The last-named was the only one of the three who attended to his instructions, though all professed to have studied them carefully, and I went through them orally just before the ceremony. The King told Beauchamp he wished Mr. Henderson summoned for the next Council, as he was anxious to talk to him on some of the problems touching labour brought into prominence by the war. Henderson impressed me favourably, both in manner and carriage.

Knollys referred very courteously to his evening at the Travellers', though he was still in some doubt as to Lord Morley's precise position towards the war and his colleagues' responsibility for it. What Lord Morley said, however, to my mind left the point in no great obscurity. His grievance against two, at any rate, of his colleagues is that they must have known, or at least should have known, what, in circumstances almost certain to arise sooner or later, would be the inevitable outcome of the mutual arrangements between the parties to the *Entente*, and deliberately disguised their risks in the communications which they made to the Cabinet.

Beauchamp complains that the Admiralty have never thought out the application of any definite policy to meet submarine attacks on a wholesale scale, and are therefore without any settled line of action at the present moment. So long as the Admiralty organisation did not include a general war staff, this was naturally the case; but, as that body has been in existence for three or four years, it seems inexcusable.

*February 10th.*—Council this morning, to swear Montagu and thus enable him to hold the seals of the Duchy and attend a Cabinet to-day; Beauchamp, Sandhurst, Farquhar, and F. Ponsonby present. The King gave Montagu an audience after the Council. The King has given instructions that Mr. Henderson is to be summoned next week, when he proposes to invite his attention to the means of encouraging enlistment by a larger use of female labour in occupations now reserved to men under Trades Union rules. This is obviously a subject of great delicacy to discuss with the parliamentary leader of the Labour Party, and Beauchamp is very anxious to have His Majesty properly warned of the pitfalls and embarrassments that may await his argument. The way, however, has been made somewhat easier for him by Jack Tennant having broached the subject in the House of Commons, without creating any very serious disturbance. Henderson, too, is a man of elastic mind, and the conversation, if managed with tact on both sides, may be fruitful of good understanding.

*February 12th.*—There is a story, I am told, current at Portsmouth that Beatty's subordinate Admiral in the North Sea twice disregarded the signal for close action, whereby two of

the German ships, which might otherwise have been destroyed, escaped. I cannot think this was so, as in Beatty's confidential despatches no censure of Moore was either expressed or implied. It is, however, stated that it was Moore who gave the signal to discontinue the action, he being at that moment in temporary command while Beatty was transferring his flag to the "Princess Royal," and that circumstance may have given currency to the other and graver rumour. There is no doubt that the "Lion" was much more seriously injured than the published accounts allow, and that may have appeared to Moore a sufficient justification for not pressing the attack further.

The Russian Envoy, who was here a few days ago, affirmed that Russia had 6,000,000 of men at the Front, and another 6,000,000 who were rapidly completing their equipment in reserve; not to speak of the bulk of the Siberian contingents, which were some of the best in the Army.

*February* 14*th*.—Luncheon with the Havershams to meet Prince Christian, who, with all his English sympathies, has not resigned his German appetite. Lady Granville and the de Bunsens were also there. Prince Christian denounces optimism in connection with the war, the progress of which he appears to measure by the Berlin bulletins. The poor old fellow is very shaky, and not quite certain what he has done, as he came back to say good-bye a second time to Lady Granville and me. M. de Bunsen said the Emperor Francis Joseph was utterly unaffected by the war: such insensibility is almost incredible.

*February* 16th.—Council this evening in order that His Majesty should declare Wimborne Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland before his departure to-morrow morning. Beauchamp, Sandhurst, and Mr. A. Henderson, the Labour Leader, were the others present, the last-named by special desire of the King for reasons mentioned above.

*February* 19*th*.—There are signs of increased activity in the Mediterranean. Some little time ago Troubridge was sent on a mission to Serbia with 2,200 men and 15 guns, which were landed at Salonica by Greek connivance. It is also the fact that the "Queen Elizabeth" has gone to these waters on her trial trip, having successfully eluded German submarines. Her destination is the Dardanelles, where she should by this time have arrived, as it was hoped to enter upon the bombardment of the inner defences this day. It is calculated that her range of gunfire will enable her to destroy all the forts and gun emplacements without risk to herself, her progress up the Straits being preceded by a flotilla of minesweepers and other small craft.

*March* 1*st*.—The seizure of the "Dacia" by the French is a happy circumstance, as, besides identifying our Ally most emphatically with our position, it has the further advantage of

bringing the case into a Prize Court which administers a more explicit law on the subject than is the case here. I will not add that French Prize Courts are, moreover, more prone to consider the views of the Executive than ours. I asked Arthur Nicolson whether the circumstance was the result of arrangement, which Desart and I had always advocated without obtaining his concurrence. He assured me this was not so, though, as hazard had determined the point, he was quite prepared to recognise that the consequences might be propitious, and would at any rate relieve the British Foreign Office of burdensome negotiations.

I took part in a conference at the Treasury, in Acland's room, as to the fate of Prince Blücher's interest in Herm. He did not share Montagu's objection to an equitable treatment of the claim to compensation arising out of the determination of the lease. The difficulty lay in the methods proposed for accommodating the interests of the holders of certain rent-charges, in respect of which Delevingne and Wilkins, representing the Home Office and the Treasury, respectively took somewhat different views. On the whole I supported the Home Office, and we finally reached a common term. It was also agreed, at my suggestion, that the States should not be invited to mention compensation in their Petition; a reference to it could easily be inserted in the substantive part of the Order, and would come thus in more natural sequence to the proper exercise of the power of the Crown.

*March 2nd.*—I have seen some confidential Reports to the Foreign Office upon the economic situation in Germany, which go far to confirm the impression that all is not well with her. In certain important particulars she is already feeling the pinch. Thus scarcity and high prices control the metal market, copper, aluminium, and antimony being particularly affected; mineral oils, especially petroleum and lubricating oils, are very scarce; jute has almost disappeared; the supply of leather is very limited, and a serious shortage disclosed in the most needed chemicals, such as nitrates and saltpetre. As to food supplies, it appears that her normal imports are eight per cent., a deficiency which a bad harvest has increased to 20 per cent. Up to the end of 1914 no economies in consumption were realised; hence the present alarm, particularly as the next harvest will be prejudiced by the ravages of war in East Prussia and absence of chemical manures. There is, further, the waste inseparable from the process of feeding huge armies and the losses incidental to hostile operations. Fodder is almost unobtainable: the slaughter of cattle and pigs has consequently been ordered, to prevent depletion of human foodstuffs, but this process arrests the normal reproduction of meat supplies and is extremely wasteful in application. There are the same traces of despair in the manipulation of the country's financial resources. The war expenditure is covered by the note

issue of the Reichsbank: the last loan relieved the pressure on the bank by discharging the debt, whereupon borrowing was renewed on the same basis and will be continued till a further loan at a greater sacrifice is required to ease the strain. A renewal of the process staves off bankruptcy for a time, but each fresh step in the direction renders the ultimate liquidation more inevitable.

*March 4th.*—Irresolute by temperament, the position of the Attorney-General as a member of the Cabinet aggravates the tendency. The addition of Cabinet responsibility to the heavy work which falls on the principal legal adviser of the Government in a state of war, is sufficient to cripple all but the strongest, and with the best intentions Simon's purpose is often impaired and his judgment affected by imperfect information and half-baked views. The strength of an Attorney-General lies in his bringing unclouded legal faculties to the constructive work which he undertakes in complete freedom from the prepossessions of policy: that, however, is impossible when he has taken a part, and probably a prominent part, in the discussions to which they give rise. Confusion of function always entails loss of force, and, when it touches a man of anxious and troubled temper, becomes particularly disabling. No one who comes in contact with him fails to observe the paralysing effect of this distraction.

*March 9th.*—The settlement of the controversy with the Opposition on Welsh Disestablishment was effected to-day, largely owing to Beauchamp's persistence, by which he won the support of both Crewe and the Prime Minister. It was not done, however, without violation of all established parliamentary practice, the Bill for the purpose being carried through all the stages in the House of Lords when nine-tenths of the Peers had not seen its text; a few copies were brought in by Beauchamp while the committee stage was being hurried through. McKenna, too, in an interview with Beauchamp's Private Secretary, assumed the part of outraged importance; but his anger was not impressive.

I am assured that the Admiralty have arranged for the purchase of 97 per cent. of the copper available for sale in the United States, pending the further prosecution of reprisals against German trade. It is well known in authoritative quarters that the loss of German submarines during the last fortnight has been much greater than the published accounts show, the use of nets at certain points having been of special effect, the course of submarines in quarters where the tide is strong being determined by imperious necessity. The number of large craft available for distant operations is reduced to very few. In this direction, as in almost every other upon which German opinion has rested the most sanguine hopes, failure and disappointment have been so far complete.

We dined with the Hyltons to celebrate her birthday. The Eric Drummonds, Mrs. Wyndham, and Dynevor were the remainder of the party. Owing to Tyrrell's breakdown, after the death of his son at the Front, E. Drummond has left the P.M. and returns to Sir E. Grey.

*March 11th.*—A Council was somewhat hurriedly convened immediately on the King's return to London, in order to deal with the extension of contraband and the framing of reprisals arising out of the enemy's abuse of submarine war. Though the Foreign Office had pressed us for a Council yesterday, it was only at the last moment it was possible to proceed with the Order in Council, and then subject to its undergoing further alteration in some matters of detail. The main point at issue was whether the Order should take effect from the date of approval, which was the desire of the Foreign Office, or from March 1st, which commended itself to the more fiery personality who reigns at the Admiralty. At first we were told that it had been left to the Prime Minister to determine, but he repudiated any responsibility, and finally it was passed, with the understanding that its issue should be held over for a few days until a decision could be reached. Beauchamp, Sandhurst, Sir E. Goschen, and F. Ponsonby attended. I met Sir E. Goschen afterwards at luncheon, for which he arrived late owing to the time the King had held him in conversation. Few people reached a fuller understanding of the German Emperor than Goschen during his years at Berlin: with an unobtrusive sagacity, he knows how to distinguish the substance from the counterfeit, and he has certainly used it to effect in diagnosing the character of the man. In the first two years he was inclined to think him true, but afterwards, and to the end, he knew him to be as false as hell.

Dined with Lady St. Helier, and took Lady Carson in to dinner, which pleased me well. She was looking quite brilliant, and Carson was obviously very proud of her devotion.

Late in the evening Lady St. Helier brought up an American guest, one Harrison, with whom she and I had an interesting conversation on certain aspects of United States policy. We left the European War alone, but tried to extract from him a reasoned justification of President Wilson's attitude in Mexico. While wrapping his apologetics in distant allusions to the dictates of a high-toned morality, he let it appear that the real motive was reluctance to saddle the Executive with responsibility for any further difficulties arising from the introduction of new racial elements into the body politic. I put it to him whether in the life of nations, as of individuals, the moment was not reached when moral scruple became only another name for moral cowardice, and he had nothing effective in the way of rejoinder.

*March 12th.*—Major Hamilton Gault and his wife came to

luncheon. He is home from the Front wounded in the wrist. His effort in public appeal was responsible for raising Princess Patricia's Canadian Light Infantry, with which he came to this country as Second-in-Command. I was much struck by the great distinction with which he bore himself; indeed, I have not often met among the products of the British Dominions beyond the seas a higher type of virile force and strength.

*March 15th.*—We were informed this morning that the Order in Council governing reprisals might be published: it is to run from March 1st, so the Admiralty have carried the day against the wishes of the Foreign Office. The force of the one is dynamic and the other static.

I dined with the Hyltons to meet Lady Paget (Sir Augustus's widow): she conceals the traces of her German origin under a soft intonation and address, and her accent is more that of Southern Europe. She was very copious and authoritative in speech, but her point of view was that of one whom experience had not liberated from the trammels of past impression.

*March 22nd.*—We learnt to-day that my wife's brother, Frank Farquhar, desperately wounded on Saturday night, had died the following morning. His last letter to his wife, dated on Friday, breathed the utmost pride and confidence, the regiment having been ordered again to take its place in the fighting line, this time in support of the King's Royal Rifle Corps near St. Eloi. So perishes a brief dream of military glory, but beyond the blood-stained laurels there is left the splendour of a soldier's death and the inspiration of a bright exemplar. The tragedy of it lies in that he had just reached the point where his future as a soldier was assured. A student of war, whose application was profound, he had a veritable genius for command, as tested by his success with the wild Arabs of Somaliland, the Chinese levies of Wei-hai-Wei, among whom he worked wonders, and the Canadians of the regiment that now mourns his loss. We can only recall, as his wife had the courage to do in the extremity of her pain, that it is the death he would have desired, and nothing hereafter can dim the grandeur of such a passage across the threshold of history. Both brothers have now gone the same way; one has lain for twenty-six years among the hills of Cashmere, and the other is now couched upon the plains of Picardy. Men of English race, to adjust the figure of Pericles, have the whole world for their tomb.

*March 23rd.*—Council this morning to approve new Prize Rules under the recent Order in Council. Beauchamp, Sandhurst, Hopwood, and Ponsonby. Everyone was very kind in their references to Frank Farquhar, the King saying with great earnestness, "I am very grieved about your brother-in-law." Hopwood, who had seen him quite lately in Canada, like everyone

else, was impressed with the keenness and alertness of his mind and the rapid application of all he knew to military problems. His unfailing ardour, cheerfulness, and courtesy made co-operation with him delightful.

Hopwood confirmed my belief that the operations in the Dardanelles would have been more wisely postponed until an adequate military force was at hand for the necessary operations in the Thracian Chersonese and upon the Asiatic littoral; 65,000 men (French and English) are to be concentrated there, and the fruits of the bombardment would have been more striking if a sufficient military force had been on the spot to garner them.

The "Queen Elizabeth" has been almost entirely manned by the ship's company of the sunken "Audacious." This ship, I learn, was struck by two mines: the final catastrophe was precipitated by the internal explosion of a lyddite shell, which was displaced as she listed; the force exerted was so great that a man on a ship a mile off had his head carried away by a fragment.

Ranksborough was in waiting for the first time.

*March 24th.*—The news reached us that Frank Farquhar met his death from a chance shot in the trenches. It was his habit to leave nothing to hazard, and, on entering some newly constructed trenches, he found them too shallow and had them sunk some two feet further. He had been writing behind the shelter of a sandbag bastion, when, being asked to satisfy himself that the trench was now deep enough, he leant forward, momentarily exposing himself to a shot that entered the neck, shattering three of the vertebræ and passing out at the left shoulder. He only lived for some forty minutes.

So ended a life, still full of promise, yet rich in achievement and the affection of friends. A bright and debonair spirit, who brought into all the obligations of life the genius of an alluring freedom.

*March 25th.*—It is a well-known characteristic of Fisher to be free in conversation, particularly when he is at home among great personages. This trait has indeed often prevented his being treated seriously. On one occasion, however, it exposed him to an emphatic snub. When King Edward went to Reval, a banquet took place on board the "Victoria and Albert." The Tsarina was on the King's right, next the British Ambassador, then the Grand Duchess Olga, and Fisher, who delivered himself of all his lightest and most frivolous quips, making the Grand Duchess laugh immoderately. King Edward leaned across to the Ambassador and said, "Will you tell Fisher from me he is not in the ward-room." The message was forthwith conveyed, and Fisher silenced; but the poor Grand Duchess, thinking herself an accomplice, was very much upset. Curiously enough,

not long afterwards at Cowes, Fisher was telling the story himself as a good joke.

*March 27th.*—Memorial service at St. Mary's, Bryanston Square, for Frank Farquhar. A large congregation assembled, including many of the officers and men of his regiment, some being here wounded and others at the depot. It appears he was taken to the rear so far as a first-aid hospital tent: he was quite conscious during his removal and once asked, "Is it far?" which was taken as an indication that he felt some pain. Morphia was administered, and on reaching the tent he was able to drink a cup of tea, though he could only show recognition of those about him by movements of his eyes: he then fell into a gentle sleep, from which he passed, without any sign of discomfort. It was a lovely moonlight night, and his servant writes that he never saw him look so happy.

The service struck the proper note; there was not only the sense of achievement about it, but something too of triumph. "Ante diem periit, sed miles, sed pro patria."

*March 29th.*—There is no question that McKenna has behaved very cryptically over the Welsh Church difficulty. He never rises higher than the mere politician, and, as an apt pupil of Dilke, places address among its highest functions. He was aware that the Government, himself included, were pledged to some compromise on the lines of the Duke of Devonshire's Bill, and yet he was determined not to sacrifice the position he held in the esteem of the Welsh Members by avowing himself a party to it. He was particularly ambiguous in his relations with Beauchamp. The latter, with great shrewdness, in his statement to the House of Lords, was careful not to go beyond the text of McKenna's Cabinet Memo., and yet that gentleman had the boldness to tell the malcontents that, in agreeing to the compromise, his hand had been forced in that he was not responsible for the oversight of failing to consult them. Such are the toils into which a politician falls who is determined to stand better with his party than with himself.

*March 31st–April 8th.*—We spent Easter very pleasantly in Yorkshire, and stopped two days at Denton on the way south. The division which had been for some months in training at Belton moved southward on the 6th, and impressed everybody by their soldierlike bearing. The belief was confidently held in the neighbourhood that the "Queen Elizabeth" had been disabled through the destruction of her turbines by the vibration of gunfire, and that a Zeppelin had recently been cruising about South Yorkshire trying in vain to find Sheffield. The "Queen Elizabeth," of course, left for the Mediterranean without the usual trials, and one of her turbines was, I understand, so injured during the first few days at sea as to put one of her engines out

of operation, so reducing her speed from twenty-five knots to eighteen : a mischance which, for the purposes of her present task, is of no great consequence.

*April 21st.*—I saw a letter from a member of the Australian Contingent in Egypt, dated the 7th inst., stating that he was just embarking for an unknown destination with *a very large force* consisting of Australians, French, English, and Indians. This is, of course, the Expeditionary Army destined to operate against Turkey, and it must now have reached the landing-place some days. Ian Hamilton is in command, an appointment that does not inspire universal confidence, but he may have qualities superior to the engaging graces for which he is principally known.

*April 29th.*—Council this morning for some special business under the Defence of the Realm Act. Lord Justice Warrington was sworn in. Beauchamp, Knollys, Sandhurst, and M. de Bunsen attended. The King was anxious about the news from both theatres of the war. French appeared to think the present advanced portion of his line up to St. Julien could hardly be maintained unless our Allies were able to throw the Germans back farther from the Yser Canal. At the Dardanelles, too, Ian Hamilton was disturbed by the non-arrival of one of his divisions, which was a day or two late, with the consequence that heavy and continuous work had been thrown upon the force disembarked. The principal landing was effected by a ruse, which seems as if it threw back to the legendary exploits of the Trojan War. A collier crammed with troops was allowed to drift ashore without attracting the attention of the Turks, when from its side, which had previously been removed, the men landed and were thus able to form a sort of *tête de pont*, behind which the main body were quickly discmbarked. The same day the " Queen Elizabeth," by indirect fire from her position in the Gulf of Saros, sank a Turkish transport in the Narrows with her third shot, its position being indicated from an aeroplane overhead.

*May 6th.*—A Council at short notice to-day to meet the wishes of the Canadian Government. A general election is imminent, and provision was required by Royal Proclamation giving effect to certain clauses in a Canadian Act of Parliament, whereunder arrangements may be made for polling the soldiers at the Front. I was told yesterday, when we were asked to take the necessary steps, that everything was ready ; we received, however, this morning from the Colonial Office the most hybrid instrument imaginable ; the preamble upon the model of a Proclamation and the substantive part following the form of an Order in Council. It was obvious that the legal talent at the disposal of the Secretary of State had no clear conception of the difference between the two : a state of mind prevalent enough among journalists but a

little singular in departmental lawyers. Beauchamp, Harcourt, Sandhurst, and F. Ponsonby attended.

Sandhurst had a story of a man at the Front who was pressed by his Commander to send some of his pay to his wife, a step he was very disinclined to take. At last he yielded so far as to ask what was the smallest sum he might send; the officer replied, "Three shillings." "Well," he answered, "when I left England I instructed my broker to pay her £3,000 per annum quarterly, so that I don't think three shillings a week will be much use."

I had a talk with Lalaing this afternoon, who shares the belief common in diplomatic circles that, when active operations began in the East, Winston Churchill believed that the support of 50,000 Greek soldiers was assured. I think that is putting it too high, as Venezelos's disposition in the matter was the only certain factor. Greece has always been more inclined to go for the Bulgarians than pursue any policy for the general good. By her procrastination she has injured her prospects, as negotiation with Bulgaria has now placed that Power on an easier footing with the Allies. Lalaing said he had been in conversation with the Roumanian Minister a day or two ago, and asked him straight when they were coming in. "In good time," he said, "but not immediately: we have not enough ammunition for a long campaign, and we must accordingly wait until the moment is more favourable."

*May 11th.*—Kitchener told the Cabinet to-day that a telegram from the Grand Duke conveyed assurances that the set-back of the Russian armies between the Vistula and the Carpathians was not likely to produce untoward results. It is due to one of those desperate rushes by which a frantic wild beast seeks to burst his cage, but only succeeds in bending its bars. There is some ground for impatience at the hesitation of the Government to make larger use of female labour in the junior ranks of the Civil Service. The War Office, who should be the pioneers in such a change, are unfortunately the worst offenders. C. Stewart, the Public Trustee, tells me he has 300 women employed on the clerical work of his department with the most satisfactory results, and yet the War Office have packed their new extension in St. James's Park with young clerks of military age. Another unpleasant feature is the lavishness with which our pecuniary resources are being expended, when one would have thought that the occasion demanded the most rigid economy. A very competent authority, who has investigated the arrangements for providing house accommodation at Woolwich Arsenal, declares that they are conspicuous for slackness on the part of the workmen and prodigality on that of the employer!

*May 12th.*—The Cabinet was hastily summoned this morning to deal with the situation of aliens, consequent on the outbursts

of popular indignation which have occurred in different parts of the country. Kitchener informed his colleagues that, in his belief, all the aliens who were of the least danger to the country had been laid by the heels, but arrangements will now have to be made for the internment of those whose liberty may be the subject of violence.

Precautions have been taken to patrol the approaches to London and stop all motor-cars attempting to enter between 7 p.m. and 7 a.m.

A letter reached one of our assistant clerks this morning from his father at Bantry, giving the account of a landing party from a German submarine in Dunmanus Bay, the nearest of the deep creeks to the scene of the sinking of the "Lusitania." The invaders secured a supply of eggs at the revolver's point from a small farmer and shot a calf, returning to the submarine with their booty. I gave a copy of it to Captain Hall, Head of the Intelligence Division at the Admiralty, who was intensely interested. He told me that such raids had occurred once or twice on the west coast of Scotland, but this is the first they had heard of in Ireland, which might perhaps be explained by the extreme difficulty of getting any trustworthy or prompt information even from their own coastguard in that part of the United Kingdom.

*May* 18*th*.—The meeting of the Cabinet called for this morning was postponed, as a prelude, it is understood, to important changes which will give its constitution a non-party character. The movement in favour of a "national" administration has of late gained considerable favour in the ranks of all parliamentary sections, but in the Prime Minister's view the opportunity for it, if not the cause of it, is to be found in the friction between Winston Churchill and Lord Fisher, which has at last declared itself in open hostility. It cannot be denied that the Prime Minister is largely responsible for the crisis, as his reluctance to enforce any effective control has brought matters to their present pass, and now, being called upon to decide between the two, he finds the line of least resistance in a comprehensive reconstruction of the Ministry. No announcement has yet been made as to the persons to be sacrificed, but among them it is anticipated that the names of Haldane, McKenna, and Simon will appear, and that others will be asked to make way for a contingent of Opposition Members. It is likely that the King will be recalled to London at once, as I am given to understand that the changes may be effected before the end of the week. It will not be without significance if it synchronises with the outburst of Allied activity on the Western Front and the reinforcement of the factors arrayed against Germany by the entrance of Italy into the Allied counsels. The third week in May has long been looked to for the occurrence

of decisive events, and it seems as if the expectation is not to be disappointed.

*May 19th.*—Two or three facts emerge from the present crisis. First, it is clear that the six months' collaboration of Winston Churchill and Fisher has resulted in a mutual implacability; secondly, Churchill has characteristically prepared a situation in which he cannot be the only sufferer, and may even achieve a triumph. He can do nothing without a great cloud of witnesses, and, having forced Fisher to revolt, is now trying to secure that in a reconstituted Ministry his own position may be still more authoritative. A grandiose scheme is attributed to him, whereby a new ministerial office, a sort of Department of Public Safety, might be created, exercising a general control over the War Office and Admiralty (each still to be represented by a Cabinet Minister), and a third section formed dealing exclusively with the supply of munitions and war material. He has secured a formidable press in favour of his own retention as a Minister, and has also, as I am informed, put forward a powerful plea for McKenna, perhaps in tardy remorse for his displacement four years ago. There are, no doubt, cogent reasons why Winston should be retained, apart from the Prime Minister's well-known partiality for him. For rapidity of conception, for width of view, untiring energy and indefatigable industry he has no superior in the political world at the present day, and no one of these qualities can be dispensed with in a War Ministry such as present circumstances demand. There is, however, the difficulty which some members of the Opposition might find in accepting him as a colleague. However, Winston has survived so many critical adventures in the course of his career that it would be premature to deny him the possibility of fresh success. He will, however, have to reckon with Fisher's hostility, who has sworn, I am told, to make a statement in the House of Lords which will blast his reputation as a Minister.

*May 20th.*—I spent part of the morning Cabinet-making with Beauchamp, who seems quite resigned to his own exclusion. He appears to think that, after the war, excluded Liberals will stand in a better position towards their own party. Yesterday evening I met Lord Lansdowne, who did not mind telling me he thought the situation "intensely disagreeable"; so there are misgivings on both sides. I gathered from what he said he was not likely to accept office himself, though in the difficulty of finding any Tory Peers of weight, except Curzon and Derby, he may feel compelled to reconsider his determination. Haldane is, I understand, very ill, and seeks a change in the interests of his health. A few days ago he had a heart seizure which caused the gravest anxiety.

I asked Acland if he was going to be disturbed: his reply

was that he knew nothing, but in the last resort he was prepared to take the position of second footman to F. E. Smith !

A very high authority tells me that at the conference between the leaders which took place this morning, the sacrifice of Kitchener was demanded, who is held responsible for the deficiency of high explosive shells at the Front. A combination hostile to him was formed, and French became vocal in his complaints. The Opposition had intended to take the matter up, and I am assured their present attitude is in conformity with these intentions.

*May 26th.*—Having returned to London from Broadlands the first thing Monday morning, it was mortifying to find that there was no chance of a Council till Wednesday at earliest, and I cannot but complain of Bonham Carter's lack of foresight or good-will in not letting me know what must have been apparent to him. As it was, I was promised an authoritative list of the changes this morning, but ultimately had to take it from the newspapers. I was not unprepared for Winston's saving his position as a Cabinet Minister, by the skin of his teeth, which he owed to the personal affection of the Prime Minister ; but he will hardly relish his exile to the Duchy. The surprise in this arrangement is the rapid promotion of Buckmaster to the Chancellorship, but I believe it to be justified by his striking personality and great attainments as a lawyer. I went to see Stamfordham with regard to the procedure for the Council to-morrow, and while I was with him Haldane, who had just left the King and been invested with the Order of Merit, came in. He had all the air of the fallen Minister, and I could not help recalling the fate which had overtaken another philosophic Chancellor three hundred years ago. However, Haldane is only the victim of calumny, which time will dispel, and those who have done him to death have no reason to be proud of their achievement. He seemed thoroughly broken, and said good-bye to us with undisguised emotion. " There has been," he said, " a lot of mud flung, and I must try to give myself a coat of whitewash." His health is such that release from official responsibility may in the end be the best thing for him, but sudden descent from power and position appeals to one with tragic force.

In the afternoon I saw Lord Crewe and submitted to him the course of business which it would fall to his lot to superintend. He mentioned the curious circumstance that the abolition of a Munitions Minister at Calcutta, which Kitchener opposed, was the cause of the trouble between him and Curzon, whereas now Curzon comes into the Cabinet at a moment when a Munitions Minister is created here, not without some derogation from Kitchener's position as the supreme War Lord. Irony never fails to play its part in human affairs.

*May 27th.*—Including Buckmaster, who, like Lord Loreburn,

was sworn a Privy Councillor and Lord Chancellor on the same day, there were twelve Privy Councillors at to-day's Council, Lords Lansdowne and Curzon, Arthur Balfour, Bonar Law, Austen Chamberlain, and W. Long representing the Opposition. The King saw the retiring Ministers first and took leave of them. Harcourt seemed pleased to be spared. By dint of careful pre-arrangement, a somewhat complicated ceremony went off without a hitch. It was strange to see lifelong political opponents in close co-operation, but the two sections of the Cabinet seemed on very friendly terms, and greeted each other with great cordiality. Winston Churchill looked restless and worried, Lloyd George excited and confident. The resigning Ministers bore themselves with fortitude.

*June 2nd.*—An emergency Council to-day for certain orders under the Defence of the Realm Act. Crewe, F. Hopwood, Allendale, and F. Ponsonby were present. Crewe thought a retirement behind Przemysl imminent. The lack of equipment, particularly shells, was very seriously affecting the movements of the Russian Army: indeed, it was at this juncture incumbent upon the Grand Duke to concentrate as near as possible upon his present sources of supply. In one of the recent actions there was reason to believe that the available stock of shells had been reduced to four rounds per gun !

Hopwood described the present situation at the Admiralty as peace in war, whereas under the displaced regime it was *bellum in bello*: A. J. B. at least pays his expert advisers the compliment of listening to them. Hopwood has the highest opinion of the First Lord, who has the far-seeing grip of realities which a scientific training gives to an active intelligence.

*June 10th.*—Council for the Order regulating the Liquor Traffic, which leaves nothing to be desired for the drastic powers it renders exerciseable in districts to which its more rigorous provisions are applied. Crewe, Sandhurst, Bonar Law, and Sir E. Barton attended; the last-named to take the oath, which, though appointed fourteen years ago, he has never had an opportunity of doing. He was the first Prime Minister of the Australian Commonwealth, in which position he made the King's acquaintance when he visited Australia shortly after King Edward's accession. On this occasion H.M. greeted him very warmly, and, keeping him and Bonar Law after the Council, he again expressed the pleasure it gave him to renew relations.

*June 11th.*—Chesterfield, Newton, and Horace Farquhar attended at the Privy Council Office to take their oath of office in the presence of the Lord President. Chesterfield was in Hull on Monday, and gave a deplorable account of the ravage caused by the Zeppelin raid the night before; the full number of deaths had not yet been reached, as remains were still being extracted

from ruined houses, but it was not likely to fall short of forty. A great emporium of haberdashery, covering a large area, but fortunately unoccupied during the night, had been completely burnt out, and the scenes in the hospitals were very distressing.

*June 16th.*—Council this morning, at which the new Privy Councillors were sworn and Lloyd George was installed as Minister of Munitions. As Francis Acland was in the new batch, I arranged for Arthur Acland to be summoned to witness his son's admission, an attention with which he seemed pleased. Mr. Robertson, who is an outspoken advocate of the views associated with the name of the late Mr. Bradlaugh, begged leave to affirm, though, if it saved trouble, he was willing to take the oath of allegiance. This idea of utilising the invocation of the Deity as a piece of convenience struck me as neither logical nor reverent, and he was given the form of affirmation in lieu of either oath.

The Order in Council establishing the Ministry of Munitions was approved. For the present it does little more than outline the functions of the new Minister and transfer duties belonging to the War Office and other Departments. In its present embryonic stage of development it is impossible to say how far it will realise expectations: on the face of it, it seems as if all the work could have been done by a reorganisation of the Ordnance section of the War Office; but the Government may well have acted rightly in supplying the stimulus of an energetic control to a branch of the military administration the importance of which it is desired to bring into the foreground of public interest. Lloyd George will at least give it picturesque and eloquent advertisement.

*June 22nd.*—I was at Heron Court from Saturday to this morning. Malmesbury is employed at Havre on Courts Martial and enquiries arising upon cases of misconduet in the field. One officer has so far suffered the extreme penalty. A portion of the house and adjoining buildings has been converted into a relief hospital connected with the central establishment at Bournemouth. There Lady Malmesbury has some eighteen patients, to whose care she devotes all the time that can be spared from the exercise of the power of attorney with which she has been entrusted on her husband's behalf. Scorning all demonstrations of effectiveness, she is capable, firm, wise, and tactful. The quietness of her control is a testimony to character. Yesterday I took her over to see Sir Edward Goschen, who has established himself for some months on a spot overlooking the sea about a mile the other side of Christchurch.

Dinner at the Eustace Cecils: Lalaings, Wilfrid Wards, and Steel-Maitlands. W. Ward told me he had been pressed to undertake the Life of Lord Acton, but, though he admired his learning and would have found many aspects of the task agreeable, he had

to consider whether he could do justice to the family's view of the subject, and came to the conclusion it would be safer to decline. He thought Lord Morley had wisely declined to print more of Mr. Gladstone's letters ; in his judgment, they were the least remarkable product of Mr. Gladstone's intellectual activity, he never could throw himself into the mentality of his correspondent, and his letters therefore were quite insensible to the reflex action of another's personality. In more than one respect he believed that the biographer, during the progress of his work, revised his judgment of the subject on lines not altogether flattering to the admiration with which he started.

*June 25th.*—Council for two Proclamations relating to trade. Steps were at last taken to prohibit trading with the enemy in China, Siam, Persia, and Morocco, and to confine the export of prohibited goods to Holland to certain consignees. Crewe, Desart, Sandhurst, and F. Ponsonby were present.

The grant by a Divisional Court of a rule *nisi* calling upon Sir Ernest Cassel and Sir E. Speyer to show by what warrant they called themselves Privy Councillors, raises some curious points. The reply of these gentlemen on the personal issue is direct enough : in presenting themselves to be sworn in they acted under proper authority exercised in obedience to the King's command ; but the legal warrant covering the transaction, if it can be challenged, appears open to doubt, and, should it be determined that the prohibition in the Act of Settlement is still operative, the right of the Crown to have called to the Council Prince Christian, Lord Reay, and Prince Louis of Battenberg, to name only living persons, will also be upset.

The belief that the Naturalisation Act of 1870 repealed the provisions of the Act of Settlement is justified by the opinion of Sir W. Anson, who, in his last edition of the " Law and Custom of the Constitution," declares it to be so. Textbooks such as the " Encyclopædia of the Laws of England " take the same view, and a foot-note in the Revised Statutes states that the one *virtually* repealed the other ; but there still remains to be considered the effect of the Act relating to the status of aliens passed at the beginning of the war, which, while repealing the Act of 1870, effected an amendment of the section of the Act of Settlement which the Act of 1870 was supposed to have repealed.

*July 6th.*—As Lord Crewe went to France yesterday, Lord Lansdowne took his place at the Council ; the Duke of Devonshire, Sandhurst, and F. Ponsonby completed the attendance. The Control of the Liquor Traffic regulations were applied to a large number of coastal areas. Hylton figured as Lord-in-Waiting for the first time, and bore himself with an air of pleased diffidence. Charles Cust is the only effective equerry left, what with the war and the transfer of Colin Keppel and H. Legge to more lucrative posts.

*July 7th.*—A wave of despondency is passing over society: those who deal in gloom are having the time of their lives, so eager are people to find excuses for believing the worst and ignoring all the hopeful elements in the case. For this many causes are responsible: the confident predictions which no long time ago came from the Front have been replaced by dark forebodings; the shortage of shells, seen through a grossly and often deliberately distorted medium, does duty for a host of illegitimate inferences and false surmises. The Zeppelin scare has something to do with it; for a great number of persons started upon the war with the idea that its interest for them was purely spectacular, and they resent what they consider a serious personal intrusion upon their complacence. It is in what I may call the supernumerary section that this infectivity of cowardice is to be found; the persons who have never been active except in the gratification of their own contemptible wants, the persons who hate to have the even tenor of their petty outlook disturbed, those who cower before the catastrophes of existence instead of drawing from them, as from a source of spiritual strength.

*July 12th.*—We were away for Saturday and Sunday at George Cunningham's house in West Sussex, on one of the spurs of Blackdown, from which a magnificent prospect opens to the line of the South Downs, On Sunday afternoon there came to tea the author of "Elizabeth and her German Garden," whose conversation has much of the salt of her writings. This afternoon I learnt from Malcolm in the Munitions Office that a Proclamation dealing with the Coal Strike in South Wales would be wanted in the next forty-eight hours, if not earlier, and I made provisional arrangements for eleven o'clock on Wednesday.

*July 13th*—The outlook in South Wales became so ominous that, upon my own responsibility, I took steps to ascertain the King's readiness to hold a Council this evening. I had no sooner done so than Runciman and Llewellyn Smith called to emphasise the extreme urgency of the case. They were on their way to the Prime Minister to obtain his sanction, and I assured them there would be no difficulty in making an immediate announcement in the South Wales Press of what was intended.

Accordingly a Council was held in the evening, at which Crewe, Sandhurst, Newton, and F. Ponsonby were present.

There was some interesting conversation before the Council on the attitude of Bulgaria. It appears that Ferdinand has been offered heavy contingent bribes to ally himself with the Central Powers, Germany having promised him the reversion of the whole of European Turkey. He thereupon expressed his intention to take what he could get at once, but this would of course have disclosed the contemplated treachery to the Porte while it was still Germany's Ally in the field, and was promptly prohibited.

Ferdinand then asked what security he had for the fulfilment of the contract, and was extremely dissatisfied to learn that it rested on nothing better than Germany's good-will at the end of the war. Newton, who knows him well, and was one of the first "civilised" people who visited him at Sofia, described his having said that the choice lay between the killers and the killed, and he intended to be in the former category. He is not only cruel and utterly unscrupulous, but an abject coward, and may strike at any moment out of sheer blind terror.

*July 20th.*—The Board of Education had to be brought up somewhat sharply for what appeared to be an endeavour to appropriate our forms by annexing to their administration a Committee of the Privy Council, to which is to be entrusted the distribution of certain sums provided by Parliament for the organisation and development of scientific and industrial research. Committees of the Privy Council are the constitutional *modus operandi* of the Privy Council in the discharge of its functions; several of them, like the Board of Trade in the eighteenth century and the Committee of Council for Education (1839–1899) and for Agriculture (1883–1889), have since developed into separate offices, but there was no precedent for a Committee of the Privy Council being set up with special duties ancillary to the work of several departments, divorced, as it seemed, from any functional responsibility to the Privy Council as a whole. However, it was explained that they had been rushed into a premature declaration of their plans by the vote for the purpose being put down in the House of Commons earlier than they had expected, and Selby-Bigge wrote a very ungrudging expression of his regret.

I saw him this morning and arranged a process by which the authority of this Office, as that from which all Committees o Council emanate, should be adequately recognised and preserved throughout the course of the Committee's proceedings.

*July 21st.*—After submitting it to Lord Crewe, who cordially approved the substance but asked me to put in the words at the beginning of the last sentence, I addressed the following letter to "The Westminster Gazette," in order to define the position of persons, other than Cabinet Ministers, who may attend meetings of the Cabinet:

"Sir,

"There is some confusion of thought in all that has been written on the subject of Sir R. Borden's presence at a Cabinet Council. It is no doubt true that the Prime Minister can command the attendance of anyone whose advice is required by the Cabinet, but no one attends as a Cabinet Minister except as one of His Majesty's servants, whose advice is needed by the Sovereign. Apart from the honourable obligation affecting all persons, whether

official or not, who meet to consult confidentially, the special protection of the Privy Councillor's oath supplies the formal sanction for the secrecy of a Cabinet meeting, and Lord Cawdor's presence prior to his taking that oath was a departure from recognised practice.

"I am,

"Your obedient servant,

"ALMERIC FITZROY.

"PRIVY COUNCIL OFFICE,
"WHITEHALL, S.W.,
"*July 20th.*"

The question of status obviously turns on whether they are present in order to supply information to the Cabinet, or to share with the Cabinet the responsibility of tendering advice to the King or of laying down lines of policy. The one is an act of State, the other of convenience ancillary to the service of the King's advisers.

*July 28th.*—The King came up from Windsor for the day, to see the Prime Minister and Sir E. Grey, so the opportunity was taken to hold a Council for some important Proclamations and Orders under the Defence of the Realm Act and the Order for the Regulation of the Liquor Traffic—Crewe, Bonar Law, Sir R. Borden, Knollys, and Colebrooke. I had an opportunity of telling Borden how gratified Frank Farquhar's family had been by the eulogy he passed upon him at the time of his death when referring to the subject in the Canadian Legislature, whereupon he said slowly, and with great emphasis, "He was the finest character I have ever known," and proceeded to enlarge upon his ability and tact, which, together with his chivalry and high-mindedness, had given him such signal hold upon the affections of those who came in contact with him.

*August 4th.*—The service at St. Paul's, signalising the entry into the second year of war, testified to the national spirit in a way which should put the fear of God into our croakers and moral malingerers.

Through all the thronged perspectives of the vast building one animate aspiration and resolve sought expression. The roll of drums and crash of sound, with which the National Anthem opened, seemed the vibrant echo of an unflinching purpose: no whisper of doubt or misgiving clouded the splendour of the dedication which King and people made of themselves before the altar of God and the consecrated ashes of the dead. The Archbishop's address was unequal to the occasion. Without dignity of phrase or poignancy of feeling, it did no more than furnish with some prolixity the routine rhetoric which is expected of his official character; whereas, a few lapidary sentences embodying the hopes of a great people and concluding with the apotheosis

of those who had died in its cause, would have left in every heart a sense of appeasement and offered to the mourner the sources of divinest comforting.

Arthur Nicolson, the Wilfrid Ashleys, and Mrs. Lawson came to dinner: a Russian strategist, whom Nicolson had seen, described the situation with great confidence. Russia, he said, had ample territory to give away, and if, for all she temporarily resigned, she took the toll in German lives, there was no doubt which got the better of the bargain.

*August 9th.*—I saw a letter this afternoon written from Frankfort by a woman whose father was French and her mother German, she herself being married to a Dutchman, wherein the writer, who was with her mother, describes the great change which had taken place in German feeling during the last few months. The universal desire among all those with whom she came in contact was for peace, and the prospect of another winter of war was held in abhorrence.

*August 12th.*—Council this morning, for which happily the King came up from Windsor. The only urgent business was an Order for the detention of certain deported Indians, who are expected at Singapore from San Francisco, which is the seat of their intrigues. Islington was to have come, but telephoned in the morning from his bed with an influenza cold that he could only do so under the most pressing necessity. I charged him to stay where he was, as with Stamfordham and Fleetwood Wilson we had the necessary minimum.

A Committee of the Cabinet on war policy met at the Privy Council Office this morning, and resumed its sittings after luncheon. Crewe told me they would be in session all next week. The composition struck me as a little curious: Crewe is chairman, and there are associated with him Curzon, Winston Churchill, Selborne, Austen Chamberlain, and Henderson. War policy is, I believe, directed to subjecting Germany to the heaviest wear and tear, while husbanding so far as possible the resources of the Allies, blows only being struck in quarters, and at times, when the conditions of success are held to be favourable.

The question of making cotton contraband seems ripening for decision, and will probably call for a Council in the middle of the short space of time I had allotted to a holiday. However, these are accidents which cannot be avoided, and have to be faced with composure. The King, it seems, will probably go to Aldershot in the course of next week.

*August 19th.*—The cotton question came to a head to-day, the Foreign Office pressing for a Council on Saturday. This I found the King was unable to arrange, as all the preparations for a visit to Brighton had been completed and could not at this late hour be countermanded. It was, however, practicable to

have the Council to-morrow evening, and to this I got the Foreign Office to accede, promising to introduce a clause into the Proclamation bringing it into operation from the date of publication in the "Gazette," which would enable it to be held up until all the preliminaries were disposed of. Crewe's committee, which sits every afternoon at prodigious length, will prevent him attending, and I failed to secure Lord Lansdowne as a substitute. Finally, I asked Robert Cecil, whose familiarity with the subject suggested his being the best person to give the King any information he might want, and happily he agreed to go to Aldershot as required. It is, I suppose, without precedent in the history of the Privy Council that at his first attendance after being sworn in a man should act for the Lord President. Lord Burghley himself never enjoyed such a distinction.

Lord Crewe showed me to-day, among the confidential papers circulated by the Foreign Office, some press comments in neutral newspapers upon Great Britain's exercise of her naval power and the claim of Germany to be fighting for the freedom of the seas. Among the most pungent and forcible was an article in a leading Swedish journal which exposed the hollowness of the German plea most trenchantly and extolled the judgment and moderation with which Great Britain used her power. It was, the writer declared, the interest of neutral nations to preserve and strengthen this power, and to none was it a matter of greater importance than to a maritime nation like the Swedes. I suggested that it would be a useful thing at this moment to let Spender have some of the passages cited in the Foreign Office paper for publication in "The Westminster Gazette," and he undertook to make enquiries whether it could be done.

*August 20th.*—A close shave has come to my knowledge, whereby some days ago a P. & O. steamer, with 6,000 troops on board and a general of division, escaped destruction. She had been escorted by destroyers to a point south-west of the Scillies, and they were still only some miles apart when a submarine came to the surface and discharged a torpedo which passed a foot or two astern of the propeller. It happened to be the last at the disposal of the submarine, so that she could not repeat the attack. The effect of the vessel's wash was so great that the torpedo sprang into the air like a huge fish, visible to everyone on board.

I went to Aldershot this afternoon with Lord Robert Cecil and Francis Hopwood, for a Council at the Royal Pavilion. We had only just twenty-five minutes to spend there, wherein we got through not only the Council and two audiences, but several cups of tea. The plan of bringing Robert Cecil down proved very successful, as he was able to communicate to the King all the subtleties enmeshing the declaration of cotton as contraband. The news from Russia had much depressed the royal

mind. Robert Cecil's conversation is very instructive from the freedom and at the same time prudence with which he gives his opinion. A generous indulgence for human weaknesses does not blunt the causticity of his criticism, and he is the last to claim for any school of political doctrine exclusive truth. The course of the war, and our responsibility for the present aspect of some of its phases, were the subjects of some wise comments, and, in connection with the operations in the Dardanelles, Hopwood said very justly that we had throughout made the mistake of devoting to that theatre of the war merely what we could spare.

*August 21st–30th.*—For the first time since the war I had eight clear days (nine nights) in the country, which I spent at Ammerdown with great satisfaction to myself, and a complete relaxation of tension: the conditions of existence were both tranquil and recuperative. The charming garden was in the zenith of its beauty, and the human touch dexterously conveyed the right accords to a tired spirit. It is remarkable with what simple elements a true synthesis of all that makes for human contentment can be reached, so long as they are moulded and controlled by a sage and detached philosophy, imbibed from wise lips.

My last day was shadowed by the desolating fact of my Aunt Mabel Feversham's death. It is little more than a fortnight ago I saw her, when she seemed wonderfully well, and talked with much of her old incisiveness; but she was doubtless very tired, and no one will begrudge her the rest wherein she is now enfolded. Death is in one sense a great restorer; nothing can hereafter touch or tarnish the affection we owe to those he has claimed; nay, rather, it becomes cast in an eternal mould. There was always a fine sense of detachment about her, which gave the clue to a mind which had no use for conventional formulæ, and during the last years of her life nothing could exceed the touching beauty and regret which, with a true autumnal grace, suffused her character and conversation. "Luceat ei lux perpetua."

*August 31st.*—I learn that Crewe's Committee has been charged with reporting to the Cabinet on the subject of compulsory service. A draft, which has been prepared under tremendous pressure, is now before the members of the Committee, and Winston had a long private interview with Crewe this afternoon. The report in its present state, I have reason to believe, takes the form of a summary of all that can be said on either side of the question, without indicating any bias in one direction or the other, and so leaving it to the Cabinet to draw an unfettered conclusion. Laying aside all *parti-pris*, and assuming that the requisite men can be obtained under either system, the point to be determined is, which conduces to the greater economy of force and can be carried into effect with the least friction or threat of disorganisation to the industrial and social fabric. Of course, if the forestated

assumption is not realisable, compulsion becomes a condition of national security, but it must be a compulsion which bears with it the consent of the community, and therefore robbed of all the odium which the word "compulsion" ordinarily connotes.

*September 1st.*—The accompanying epigraph, which appears in "The Times," deserves to be rescued from the oblivion which awaits communications to a newspaper. The last sentence in particular gives the true note of that indestructible charm which was Lady Feversham's most signal possession. Age could not wither nor custom stale its magnetic quality; nay, rather, it shone with increasing lustre as the shadow of the years fell about her.

"Lady Feversham belonged both intellectually and by æsthetic preference to the most brilliant period of the second French Empire rather than to the duller and quieter respectability of the mid-Victorian epoch. Amongst her most intimate friends were the Comtesse de Pourtalès, the Marquise de Persigny, and other meteoric stars who flashed across the Paris stage between 1852 and 1870. Gifted not only with unusual beauty and high spirits, but with a pungency of observation and a grace of wit rarely found except among our neighbours and Allies across the Channel, she seemed fitted, both by capacity and inclination, to be the centre of a brilliant *salon*. But the loss of her eldest son, Viscount Helmsley, in 1880, and of her eldest daughter, the Duchess of Leinster, in 1895, confirmed her in the view that society and the outer world are only for the young, and that the family circle is the most becoming and happiest frame for those who have passed the ninth lustrum.

"As the mother of the four lovely Duncombe sisters, Hermione, Duchess of Leinster, Helen, Lady D'Abernon, Lady Cynthia Graham, and Lady Ulrica Baring (perhaps the most striking examples of feminine beauty ever produced in one family, either in this or any country), Lady Feversham had many points of interest and communion with the generation that succeeded to her own. All those who were privileged to enter the charmed circle of her intimacy will long remember the delicacy of the old-world grace that gave to her wit such singular distinction—no less than the warmth of heart and liveliness of sympathy, which made her as much beloved in age as she had been admired in youth."

I have had a full account of the Suvla Bay disaster from the distracted lips of poor Dartmouth, whose second son fell in the affair, dying most gallantly. It appears that the landing was a complete surprise; the first positions were taken without opposition and there was nothing to prevent the advance of the force to the other side of the peninsula. Legge, when last seen, was lying on his back badly wounded, waving the Staffordshires

on. His father had no tears to shed for him, but was naturally incensed at the hesitation which made the sacrifice vain. His servant died with him, faithful to the end.

*September 7th.*—I saw Redesdale to-day, who told me he was in Berlin the end of 1913, and saw all the great men from the Emperor downwards. The *mot d'ordre* had evidently gone round to flatter him and everything English, and, in conversation (*tête-à-tête*) for three-quarters of an hour with the Emperor, nothing could have exceeded the flatteries that were addressed to him on the score of everything English. In the light of what followed eight months later, he had the conviction that no more consummate dissembler ever lived. His object was clearly to allay all suspicion and remove all distrust, and so establish an atmosphere behind the screen of which the machinations of German policy could develop themselves undetected. These were the expedients by which the Imperial Tartuffe was wont to score no inconsiderable success, reinforced as they were by a wonderful power of pleasing.

*September 8th.*—I saw a letter from a young officer on board the submarine which created such a stir in the Sea of Marmora a few weeks ago. He gave a most graphic account of his exploits, which included the destruction of one gunboat, five steamers (one of 3,000 tons), seventeen sailing-vessels, a railway and two troop-trains, one of which involved the blowing up of three ammunition-wagons. The cruise closed with the discharge of a torpedo into the harbour at Constantinople, with results they were unable to record, but the force of the explosion at a distance of one and a quarter miles was such as to shake the vessel from stem to stern. On their return they had to thread their way through the obstacles with which the Turks had sown the Straits ; they cut all the nets in which they were entangled, and, though they fouled three mines, they managed to free themselves from contact without firing them. The reception by the Fleet, with manned turrets, dressed ships, and bands playing, was most enthusiastic, and was accepted as ample reward for the perils braved and achievements won.

*September 29th.*—I met a man at luncheon whose brother is among the wounded returned to this country since the recent fighting. He spoke with some indignation of the carelessness of the artillery, who planted asphyxiating shells in positions from which, on explosion, the fumes drifted across the British advance and disabled, at least temporarily, a great many men, and of course took the edge off the attack on that particular part of the Front. These shells have as yet been used very sparingly, if at all, and there is perhaps room for the suggestion that they may have got into the hands of the gunners by some mistake.

The letter of Captain von Papen to his wife contained a great

deal of matter beyond that published. It was mainly devoted to a long and minute survey of the social scandals preoccupying American society, and was marked throughout by an inconceivable grossness of thought and licence of expression. He was also eloquent on American defects, which he characterised with all a Prussian's arrogance, their "vulgarity" and "ostentation" calling for frequent comment. He described them, too, with a rich vocabulary of explosives and damnatory adjectives, by the side of which "idiotic Yankees" is almost flattering. Copies of the whole letter were courteously sent by the Foreign Office to the American Ambassador, who will doubtless transmit them to his Government.

*October 2nd.*—Feeling among all ranks at Gallipoli is becoming embittered against the Commander-in-Chief and his staff. No one has a good word to say for this last, whose arrogance and fatuity have become a byword in the army. The complaints of the Australian and New Zealand contingent, who believe themselves to have been given away in the last general action, are particularly loud, and the Government, who are at their wits' ends over the situation as a whole, have before them a confidential report in which this aspect of the trouble is handled with the fullest expert knowledge. The Dardanelles Committee of the Cabinet are in constant and prolonged session, but have so far not devised any scheme of salvation. The failure to apply any comprehensive theory to the situation, the sporadic energy and long periods of inaction, the lack of judgment displayed in the choice of time and place for operations, the inability to convey any momentum to the forces, and finally the negligence to see that instructions are carried out, have completely undermined the confidence of the troops.

*October 4th.*—A friend, who has just returned from Ireland, gave me a curious account of the causes which are interfering with recruiting in that country, especially among the farming class. It had come to his ears, from various sources, that there was a strong feeling on the score of the non-employment of the Ulster Division for active work. The South of Ireland has always sent a large contingent into the ranks of the Army, whereas recruiting has never been popular in the North, and it was said that the Catholic population, which has been much embittered by events in Ireland, looked with suspicion on the action of the authorities in keeping the forces of Ulster at home. My friend, therefore, addressed himself to a man he could trust, who had the confidence of the people, and asked him whether there was anything in this point of view. "Well, my lord," was the reply, "since you have asked me, I must confess that it is absolutely true." He was so impressed with the unfortunate consequences of what might be merely maladroitness on the part of the military

authorities, that he was determined to seek an opportunity of seeing the Prime Minister and laying the matter before him.

*October* 13*th*.—I saw Stamfordham yesterday, who told me the King was anxious to go abroad next week; but there is some hesitation due to the uncertainty whether military operations would be in progress. So much now depends on the direction of the wind, that land warfare is subject to the disabilities which in the old days affected navies under sail. Sir W. Robertson was in London, and had given him to understand that our advance was open to renewal at any moment.

Lord Crewe discussed the situation this afternoon with less than his customary reticence; he also had seen Robertson, from whose forecast of the operations he drew the conclusion that Joffre's "sans trêve et sans relâche" must be taken with considerable reserve. Such a movement as was in progress would be interpolated with frequent periods of perhaps prolonged inaction, and no rapid throwing back of the Germans to the Meuse was therefore to be expected. Crewe's own view was that on the data available there was good reason to believe that Germany was near the end of her resources in men. He, indeed, put it at this: that in the spring their losses could not be made good by new formations, and that if two battalions lost half their numbers there would be no alternative but to unite the remnants.

*October* 14*th*.—Council at Buckingham Palace for revision of contraband regulations, including a comprehensive definition of cotton, and other matters arising out of the war. Crewe, Desart, Knollys, and M. de Bunsen were present. Derek Keppel had information of a Zeppelin on the preceding night having passed Staines and reached the fringes of Windsor Park. The mischief and loss of life in London are considerable. A great deal of damage was done outside the Lyceum, many people were killed in Wellington Street and in a public-house adjoining. No little destruction, moreover, occurred in Kingsway, Lincoln's Inn, where some of the glass in the chapel suffered, and the upper part of Chancery Lane. The indiscriminate discharge of bombs in the district named, and in the neighbourhood of Aldgate, is probably due to the conjecture that some of the great commercial and financial establishments in the City might be injured. On the other hand, there does seem to have been a deliberate abstinence from injury in the residential quarters of western London, which were no doubt in the track of one, if not two, airships.

*October* 16*th*.—Late last night it was intimated from the Foreign Office that a Council which they had arranged with the King to hold at 11 a.m. would be necessary to-day for the Proclamation recognising the State of War with Bulgaria. I found it impossible to obtain an answer to the letter I addressed to Crewe House, and after dinner went up there on a fruitless errand, as I found

that Crewe had departed from home in the afternoon, a fact that his Private Secretary had not deemed important enough to communicate. Between nine and ten I managed to get hold of Robert Cecil and Francis Hopwood, and, with F. Ponsonby, got a sufficient number together.

R. Cecil was not inclined to minimise the situation in the Balkans, as in his belief the King of Greece had given the German Emperor an undertaking to preserve neutrality at all costs, and he assumed no pressure or solicitation would have the least effect.

In reference to the defence of London from Zeppelin raids, Hopwood mentioned that it was only fair to Winston Churchill to acknowledge that he had provided a number of guns adequate to the purpose, which the exigencies of war had diverted to other fields of enterprise.

*October 27th.*—The following letter, a genuine document addressed to the Admiralty, is worth preserving:

"RESPECTED SIR, DEAR SIR,

"Though I take this liberty as it leaves me at present i beg to ask if you will kindly be kind enough to let me know where is my Husbin, though he is not my legible Husbin, as he as a wife though he says she is did, but I do not think he knows for sure, but we are not married though i am getting my allotment reglar which is no fault of Mr. Loy George who would stop it as he could and Mr. McKenna, but if you know where he is as he belongs to the Royal Fling Corps for ever since he joined in Jan. when he was sacked from his work for talking back to his Bos which was a woman at the laundry where he worked.

"I have not had any money from him since he joined though he told Mrs. Harris what lives on the ground floor he was a pretty Ossifer for six shillings a week and lots of underclose in for bad weather, and i have three children what he has been the father of them though he says it was my fault.

"Hoping you will write to me soon and you are quite well as it leaves me at present I must close hoping you are well.

"MRS. JANE JENKINS."

I learn on excellent authority that the German artillery is rapidly deteriorating; the shells don't burst and the guns do: the exigencies of rapid output appear to have reduced them to the bored envelope, instead of that made of wrought or hammered steel, which has much greater strength and resilience.

*October 29th.*—The news of the King's accident was communicated to me this morning by Stamfordham, with the addition that it might be a week before he could return to this country. I had seen him two days ago in connection with a plan I had arranged with Crewe for obtaining the King's consent to the approval of a Commission authorising the Queen to hold Council

during the continuance of the war when he was at a remote distance from the seat of Government: a form of words intended to cover visits to the Fleet in the North of Scotland as well as excursions to the armies in France and Flanders. It appeared to Stamfordham, as I expected, that the proposal to vest the Queen with the Commission would be very acceptable to the King, and he also said it would give great pleasure to her. It now remains to be considered whether it will not be necessary to put in, as an additional ground for disability, some words which will include accidents such as the present.

I learn that the visit of General Joffre to this country arose out of what appeared to be a deadlock in the negotiations with France upon the despatch of further assistance to Serbia. It was the suggestion of H. Wilson that Joffre's presence here, in contact with prominent members of the British Government, would contribute to a solution of the difficulty more effectively than anything else, and this I believe has been the result.

*November 2nd.*—Arthur Nicolson gave me to understand he had been very much impressed by the personality of Joffre, whom he met at dinner with the French Ambassador. His personal characteristics are in every man's mouth, but he displays, on closer contact, a breadth of view, restraint, and command of resource which communicate to all he says the gesture of decision.

*November 3rd.*—I walked across St. James's Park with Lord Parmoor, whose son in the Bucks Yeomanry was badly wounded in the charge in which Longford fell. I was glad to learn that he at least lay outside the zone of scrub which was later the scene of the conflagration. Lord Parmoor's son had a narrow escape of being burnt, and gave an awful account of the screams and groans of the wounded who were slowly roasted to death. He passed through another scene of horror in the hospital transport which brought him home: some twenty-seven died on the way, and he himself was touched with septic poisoning. There were a large number of cases of high fever on board, and, owing to the scarcity of nurses and doctors, furious fights in the sick bay were of constant occurrence between delirious patients.

Another authentic story of what took place on board a returning transport with sick and wounded deserves record. A doctor was at his wits' ends for ice to relieve some of the worst cases, and was told there was none on the ship. Repairing late into the saloon, he saw a distinguished soldier regaling himself with whisky and soda plentifully supplemented by ice!

I am told that if the King's accident had taken place upon a road, instead of a ploughed field, he must have been killed. He was good enough to intimate yesterday that he was prepared to hold a Council from his bed, if necessary; but, so far, I have avoided making any such call upon his energies.

*November 4th.*—I attended the funeral service for Lord Welby at St. Margaret's, Westminster. The prevailing note of the congregation was advanced age, which was perhaps to be looked for. The rite was well rendered, with some agreeable changes from the ordinary routine. Lord Welby's memory, as an official, has of course grown dim, but he retained to the last the good-will of all who knew him and the affection of some close friends.

I met Henry Wilson on the steps of the Travellers', home for brief leave. He testified to the great success, from the point of view of unified military aims, of General Joffre's visit, though means of communication were to some extent curtailed, as the illustrious man cannot speak a word of English. I was struck by the tone of quiet confidence in which Wilson spoke. Gavin Hamilton,[1] whom I saw later in the day, also just back from the Front, bore witness to the prevalence everywhere of a cheerful spirit.

*November 10th.*—After delays to give time for the King's progress towards convalescence, we were able to have a Council this morning, which took place in a small room adjoining his bedroom. He was lying propped up on a short couch, bearing evident traces of all he had undergone. His face was much drawn and very thin, and his whole appearance was that of a man who had passed through a time of acute suffering. His voice and colour were good, and all the indications now point to a rapid recovery of strength. Crewe, Stamfordham, and F. Ponsonby were present.

*November 12th.*—The Nomination of Sheriffs afforded a striking illustration of the very large number of country gentlemen who are in one capacity or another on active service. On reaching the Lord Chief Justice's room I found him still at luncheon with the McKenna family, for whose adequate entertainment he had postponed the sitting of the Court for a quarter of an hour. McKenna made one interesting disclosure. The Russians, it appears, have more than two million men fully trained and ready to put into the field, as soon as they are adequately equipped. It is the view of some members of the Cabinet that we should serve the cause of the Allies best by placing our ammunition and rifles at the disposal of the Russians, instead of adding to our own forces, and thus leave a larger section of our population free to provide equipment and at the same time husband our own resources in men. The Russian Government, it is said, quite recognise that their inexhaustible supply of men should be pooled for the successful issue of the war, and that the other members of the Alliance would be doing their share by an adequate contribution to the common war material. It is in this direction that the fruits of co-operation will probably be seen in the near

[1] Lord Hamilton of Dalzell.

future, and by these means France and ourselves may be saved from a too great depletion of the male population.

Lord Reading told me he has fixed Tuesday next for the hearing of the Privy Council case respecting Cassel and Speyer, and said that if I was there by 9.45 he would give me a seat on the bench.

At the Royal Commission this afternoon some propositions, drafted by Sir K. Digby, were before us for the issue of Decrees of Nullity in the case of marriages where either party had infected the other with venereal disease. The actual form of the proposal was that the institution of proceedings should be in the hands of the King's Proctor, an innovation, as it appeared to me, of very doubtful utility. I took the opportunity of consulting Desart, whose authority in such matters is unique, and, armed with his opinion, carried unanimously an amendment only requiring that such actions should be brought with the *fiat* of the King's Proctor. Looking to their very personal character, I argued that responsibility for their conduct should therefore rest on the persons in whose primary interest they are brought, and he or she ought not to be left in the position of perhaps having to complain that the King's Proctor had not called this or that witness, whose evidence in the opinion of the party was essential to success. The intervention of the King's Proctor in ordinary divorce proceedings was not, I showed, in point, as he then appears to represent an aspect of the case outside that of either party. He has, moreover, in such proceedings the data furnished by the pleadings in the suit, whereas, in the circumstances under discussion, there would be nothing before him upon which his intervention could be based. I further got them not to pledge themselves to Sir S. Evans's view that children in such cases would become illegitimate, but merely to recommend that, if it were so, they should be relieved of the disabilities attaching to such a condition.

We had a small dinner to mark my sixty-fourth birthday. The Hyltons, Forsters, and Carsons. Edward Carson was very emphatic on the differences which separated him from his late colleagues, among whom the only two for whom he had a good word were Winston Churchill and Lloyd George. It was the unending talk and the lack of resolution which dismayed him, though I could not gather that his own plans were very clear or based upon a better-informed view of the situation. It seemed to me rather a problem of temperament and a difficulty in supporting conditions which, however incomplete in themselves, were the best that, for the moment, circumstances permitted. He mentioned one curious thing, viz. that the Irish emigrants stopped in Liverpool were mainly from the North of Ireland. Lady Carson, who was looking very bright and happy, expressed herself with even greater emphasis.

*November* 26*th*.—This evening I saw Tyrrell, who is working at the Home Office in charge of the efforts now being made to influence neutral countries in favour of the Allies. All such efforts, he says, are nothing in the scale as compared with victory in the field. The conviction of all neutral countries is that, if Germany wins, they will suffer terribly at her hands should they have been hostile, whereas the Allies will always treat them as gentlemen; so that the very virtues of the *Entente* are a source of backwardness in their friends.

*November* 29*th*.—I dined last night with the F. Bentincks, the Italian Ambassador and Madame Imperiali, the Aubrey Smiths, and Mrs. Max Müller. Imperiali said, I do not know on what ground, that some time ago there was a disposition in a strong section of the Russian Government to make peace, but the intensity of the feeling in the Army rendered the movement futile.

*November* 30*th*.—Council at Buckingham Palace. The King has so far recovered that he received us in the usual room, and, with the aid of a stick, was able to stand throughout the proceedings. Crewe, Samuel, Stamfordham, and F. Ponsonby were present. After the Council Samuel was sworn Chancellor of the Duchy for the second time.

*December* 18*th*.—I attended the Memorial Service for Lord Alverstone, whose fine character and consistent friendliness I shall always hold in grateful recollection. The rite at Lincoln's Inn Chapel was admirably rendered, and the company reflected the high esteem which gathered round the name of the dead. Lord Halsbury, seventeen years his senior, who had yet stood in the way of his advancement to the highest place in his profession, was there, still sound and active, and many others, hardly much younger, if the mass of bald heads were any criterion.

The Lord Chief Justice gave judgment on the validity of the appointment of Cassel and Speyer to the Privy Council, discharging the rule which had been asked for. He very rightly swept away the Attorney-General's plea that a Privy Councillorship is not an office, but fell into an error in describing the Registrar of the Privy Council as the officer responsible for the roll.

*December* 19*th*.—I met Lord Reading at Hyde Park Corner, and, in walking some way with him, had the opportunity of discussing the Privy Council judgment, on one point of which I had already written to him. He was very civil in promising to put right the error into which he had inadvertently fallen, and I finally put to him the question why he had differentiated in such a marked degree between the two parties to the case in the matter of costs. His answer entirely confirmed my own surmise. Cassel had, as we know, submitted to the Court an affidavit attesting in earnest language his loyalty to the King and to the

country of his adoption, whereas Speyer, though formally represented, had in substance told the King and the Privy Council to go hang. His attitude had, in Lord Reading's opinion, been studiously disrespectful, whereas the other had behaved with the utmost correctness. I then asked him what he thought of the Speyer firm in New York becoming the depositary of the huge sum lodged by Germany in America for furnishing supplies to vessels engaged in the destruction of British commerce. Did he not consider that, as E.Speyer had transferred his commercial activities to the American House, he ought to be removed from the Privy Council on either that account or the other? He replied without hesitation, "Yes." I then asked him whether he did not recognise the obligation to represent that view, as strongly as possible, to the Prime Minister, and he again gave an unqualified assent: indeed, he added that, unless some such step was taken, grave trouble would ensue. He was surprised that the matter had not already been taken up by the critics of the Government. He told me further that Lewis Speyer, the head of the New York House, had moved heaven and earth to obtain an interview with him, while in America, but by dint of unremitting vigilance he had succeeded in baffling his efforts. He knew him to be the tool, if not the spy, of Bernstorff, and that was enough for him.

*December 20th.*—The last meeting of the Royal Commission upon Venereal Diseases took place this afternoon, just two years and two months since we first assembled to hear evidence. The report will be substantially unanimous, though Digby makes reservations on a few comparatively unimportant points; and this might have been averted if the chairman had in the first instance treated his objections with more patience and courtesy. On the whole, the Commission has fulfilled the objects of its appointment. The investigation has been searching and the recommendations practical and sufficient. It remains to be seen in what temper they will be received by the Government and the public. Canon Horsley and Mrs. Creighton were perhaps the least useful members; the interventions of the former were as frequent as ineffective, and the asperities of the lady's mind were in constant collision with sound policy and good judgment. Even when she was in the right, her accents were provocative, and on certain points she was the dupe of tyrannical prepossession.

I learn from one who was present that the Turks behaved with great courtesy to Kitchener when he paid his recent visit to Suvla Bay and the adjoining Australasian lines. He held a kind of reception, half levée, half parade, of all the troops from the trenches, which were vacated in relays, and during the whole operation the Turks forbore to harass the troops by any shell-fire. When, however, Kitchener had re-embarked, two or three shells

were thrown over the ground, as if to show what they might have done had they been so minded.

*December 22nd.*—Council at Buckingham Palace, the twenty-eighth for the year. Crewe, Devonshire, Sandhurst, and Colebrooke were present. The King was able to move without a stick, and had clearly made great progress in the last three weeks. Bowlby had been able to tell him that at the outset he was very much worse than had been admitted. He goes to Sandringham to-morrow for some time.

Two days ago Crewe, as I thought imprudently, volunteered to furnish a reply to a question addressed to the Prime Minister on the subject of the amendment of the Act of Settlement, excluding persons of alien birth from the Privy Council. Asquith deliberately ignored the suggested reply, and confined himself to a direct negative; but then went on, in answer to a supplementary question, to go bail for the loyalty of Privy Councillors of alien birth: a position doubly unfortunate in view of the opinion of the Lord Chief Justice on the recent vagaries of Sir E. Speyer.

## 1916

*January 4th.*—I was at Bournemouth for the opening of the year. The gale on the 1st blew with extraordinary violence, and in front of the pier-head it was difficult to maintain footing. In that sweet sanctuary of the dead which climbs the hill behind St. Peter's Church, where sleep so many who have perished in the first flower of their age, I read above a girl of eighteen, doubtless the darling of some parent's heart, the touching legend, "Arise, my fair one, and come away," at once a cry of sorrow and a call in its dim way to something further beyond. One of our expeditions was to Wimborne, the church of which I had never seen. It contains a tomb which is an interesting link in the history of the English Monarchy. There lies Beaufort, Duke of Somerset, the grandson of John of Gaunt and the grandfather of Henry VII.

*January 5th.*—I was recalled to London owing to the supposed imminence of a Council for the transfer of the Home Office seals upon Simon's resignation. As a matter of fact, the Prime Minister's staff, who took the arrangements in hand, found, not for the first time, that they had made a miscalculation, and the Council was accordingly postponed to next week.

*January 12th.*—The scruples and hesitations of Sir J. Simon at length issued in resignation, so clearing the way for the appointment of his successor in the person of Herbert Samuel, who has great merits both as an administrator and parliamentarian. Late last night I had the information that E. Montagu was to have the seals of the Duchy and a seat in the Cabinet, retaining the

Secretaryship of the Treasury. Both he and Samuel therefore attended the Council, the first time in history when two Jews were simultaneously installed in high offices of State. Sandhurst and Lord Lansdowne were also present, the last-named taking the place of Lord Crewe, who was confined to the house with a bad cold. It is, I believe, Crewe's birthday, and the fact drew from Lord Lansdowne the depressing remark that such anniversaries become tragedies as life passes. His own birthday occurs in a day or two, and dwelling, as he no doubt does, on the great sorrow which time has brought him, the remark is not unnatural.

The King gave Simon a very long audience, but can hardly have drawn from him a successful justification of his position. With all his brilliant gifts, he is no great loss to the Government; neither as Attorney-General nor Secretary of State has he fulfilled the hopes of his friends. He would have done better for his fame if he had not listened to the voice of ambition, and followed the example of Lord Morley and John Burns. His conscience is a parcel of punctilios; he is sensitive and fidgety by temperament; and his mental disposition, ignoring the broad harmonies of conduct, leads him to dwell on superficial contradictions—an intermittent scrupulosity of conscience finds its complement in the timidity of the over-trained lawyer.

*January 27th.*—The prorogation of Parliament was reached to-day. A Council was therefore held this morning, and eight new Privy Councillors sworn in. I had seen Sir M. Joyce and Sir F. Banbury yesterday, and given them a very careful drilling, which bore fruit in the quick precision of all the movements this morning. Mr. Crooks kissed the King's hand with a smack which resounded through the room, but that was the only touch of over-emphasis. The Council was attended by Crewe—his first appearance since his recovery—Sandhurst, Harcourt, and Francis Hopwood.

*January 29th.*—I went down to Brighton to see Spencer Chapman, who lies there dying of arterial sclerosis. He was much changed, but able to talk on familiar topics without seeming fatigued during the two interviews I had with him. His business, which is largely concerned with the production of sulphuric acid, has, he told me, been doubled since the war, and he spoke with great clearness and scientific accuracy about the difficulty Germany must suffer in the manufacture of explosives by being cut off from almost every source of supply in regard to this particular and all-important agent. It was a lovely day, sun and sea kissing each other with all the tenderness of spring.

*January 31st.*—Luncheon at Julia Lady Tweeddale's. The Lalaings and others were there. Madame de Lalaing has just returned from Holland; on her voyage thither the packet was stopped some two hours out from Tilbury during the bombardment

of the Belgian coast. The scene was most animated, small craft and seaplanes darting about in all directions, and upon the background the continuous roar of big guns.

*February 3rd.*—A Council was held to-day for a Proclamation assigning February 10th as the date on which the Military Service Act becomes operative and for the purpose of approving the regulations under which the Tribunals established by the Act will conduct their procedure. Present, Crewe, Desart, Sandhurst, and F. Ponsonby.

*February 7th.*—I had a long talk with Troubridge, who has just returned from the Serbian campaign: a fact that may explain a certain amount of misgiving and depression. His story of the retreat was very graphic; all his guns had to be sacrificed in the process, some being left in the gorges of the mountains, others engulfed in torrents, and the last buried near Ipek. The mareh covered twenty-six hours without a breaк, and after three hours' rest they trudged on for another eighteen. His losses, on reaching Scutari, were fourteen. Once across the Albanian frontier, he was treated with the greatest consideration, and at Scutari a deputation of prominent men waited on him. He was assured that the arrival of the "great English Pasha" was expected, and one of the chiefs broke into poetry, declaring that a thousand invisible eyes were upon him lest he should be assailed by any evil.

His first act, on arrival at Scutari, was to buy up all the potatoes. He attributes his resistance to the fatigues of the march to Oxo meat tabloids, the little space they took and the concentrated character of the food rendering them invaluable.

The Serbian losses in the retreat were very large, but the most miserable fate was that which overtook the Austrians, principally Slavs from Bosnia and Herzegovina, who were driven before the retiring forces and perished in thousands. A large number, however, saved themselves by taking service with the Turks, though it was significant to see how thirty years of Austria's superior civilisation has weakened the bonds of race. The Serbian army recruiting in Corfu he estimates at 130,000 good troops.

He described the four days' battle for the possession of Belgrade as one of the saddest things he ever witnessed. The enemy's artillery made the defeat of the defending army inevitable. Belgrade once lost, the defensive tactics of the Serbs in clinging to the mountain passes, which they deemed Thermopylæs, rendered their ruin complete. The great sweeping movement of the Germans left their fastnesses untouehed, and they were abandoned with enormous loss. For some fifteen days the Serbs did not lose heart, being buoyed up by the belief that, just as happened last year, they would suddenly turn and destroy the invader. After the sixteenth day they were seized with despair, and opposition dissolved into a flying rabble.

*March 30th.*—Council this morning; primarily to extend restrictions on imports, which, under the new Proclamation, are to be carried much further. Lord Crewe, Runciman, Farquhar, and F. Ponsonby were present. An Order limiting the form of our adhesion to the Declaration of London was also approved. I am given to understand that an order abrogating it altogether is in contemplation; indeed, I have seen the draft. At present negotiations on the subject with the French Government are proceeding, and there is further some uncertainty whether the Cabinet will pass unconditional withdrawal. It would seem, if that is to follow in a short time, useless to make amendments on a moribund instrument; but Crewe appeared to think it might be a wise step, as an indication of the gradual and perhaps reluctant conversion of responsible authority. At any rate, the draft was the outcome of Robert Cecil's activity, who is very much concerned in getting the Foreign Office to take the plunge.

On the way back to the Office I said something to Crewe on his presiding at Cabinets in the absence of the Prime Minister, which drew from him the observation that he could not guide the deliberations of a more earnest, fair-minded, and painstaking body of men. He said that Bonar Law was particularly pleasant to work with, but he was disposed to think him somewhat timid, and as a consequence slow to accept responsibility.

*April 4th.*—Charles Matthews tells me that nothing has struck him more during the last few months than the way in which the soldiers have shrunk from responsibility in connection with obligations created by the Defence of the Realm Orders in Council. In cases without number when the "competent military authority" is invested with wide power and important duties, it has preferred to invoke the Civil Power, and leave it to the Home Office to determine the course to be pursued. I confess to no surprise at the information.

*April 8th.*—I went down to Northolt this afternoon with Julia Lady Tweeddale and Lady Crawford to see a giant aeroplane now under construction, which will be ready for its first flight in a few weeks. Vessels on a similar model, but of smaller size, have been in use on the Russian Front, but this is the first which the designer, an Englishman, has built on English soil and entirely of British material. It is a biplane, with a body like a small airship, and is said to combine the merits of both types. The hull is sixty-five feet long, with a gangway down the middle more than six feet high. On either side there are small compartments, the divisions of which are part of the structural strength of the whole. Some of them will be used for the accommodation of the crew, in normal circumstances six in number, and the remainder for stores and munitions. On the hurricane deck above, approached through a manhole, will be carried the armament,

including a three-inch gun and two sixteen pounders. The vessel is steered with two wheels from the forecastle, on either side of which the wings are spread, the span of the upper plane being eighty feet and that of the lower sixty-five. Between these wings she carries four engines, two on either side of the hull, with four propellers or tractors, as those in front are more properly called.

The craft is designed to fly comfortably at 15,000 feet, and to reach a speed of eighty miles an hour; it is claimed for her that she will be able to fly to Munich, or, for the matter of that, to Berlin and back. Her weight, unequipped, is five tons, but furnished with guns, bombs, stores, and crew, she scales more than eight. Altogether, in daring of design and in perfection of parts, she is the most wonderful piece of mechanism that the art of aerial engineering has yet produced.

*April 11th.*—I had luncheon with Lady Jersey, and met the Japanese Ambassador and his wife, Lady Northcote, and Rudyard Kipling's daughter. The illustrious representatives of the yellow races seemed to take a lively interest in the social aspects of English life. The Ambassadress is a very pleasant and agreeable little woman.

*April 12th.*—Council at Buckingham Palace for a further Proclamation defining contraband, in connection with which we had been led to expect an Order in Council withdrawing adhesion to the Declaration of London; but difficulties with the French Government still hold that part of the business in suspense. Lord Crewe, Robert Cecil, Sandhurst, and Islington attended. R. Cecil told me the French Government would probably take some time in making up their mind, as their objections touched both principle and detail. He added that he found in them the weaknesses of the English Government in an aggravated form—the same timidity, the same want of departmental harmony, and a still stronger fear of the effect of any decision upon neutrals. There were, moreover, men in office who had been personally concerned in the deliberations at The Hague, of which the Declaration of London was the outcome, and they were very sensitive over the prospect of their work being undone. He agreed that the instrument had been so riddled that there was little substance left, but of that little it was a point of *amour-propre* with them to maintain as much as possible.

Islington spoke with great despondency of affairs on the Tigris: the relieving force was little more than 34,000 men, even if all reinforcements had come up; whereas, the Turks in position before them were fully 25,000. The losses in the two successful battles had been 3,000, and they did not know the cost of the unsuccessful attack. Townshend, of whose

rashness and precipitancy he spoke very bitterly, was reduced to utter impotence by lack of supplies of all sorts, and could create no diversion from within. The only possible factor which might decide the struggle in our favour was the failure of Turkish munitions; but on that point there was no definite information. The force with Townshend did not at this moment much exceed 4,000 men, but the moral effect of the surrender of such a number would be very unfortunate.

*April 15th.*—I went down to Northolt again this morning in company with Crewe, in order to show him the great biplane. Kennedy, the designer, was there, and went fully into many technical details which were necessarily skimmed last week. Crewe took the liveliest and most intelligent interest in all he saw, and lent a sympathetic ear to Kennedy's account of the difficulty created by the want of accord between the naval and military authorities. It seemed strange that, while the craft is being built for the War Office, the Admiralty has provided the engines at a cost of £7,000, whereas private enterprise is responsible for the rest of the construction.

We got back at 1.30, when I stayed to luncheon at Crewe House. There was no one else there except Lady Crewe, which gave me a favourable opportunity of realising how bright and agreeable she can be, with much of her father's incisiveness of touch.

*April 17th.*—Yesterday I met at luncheon with Mrs. Lawson, Colonel Phillips, late Military Attaché to the Balkan States and for some time Head of the International Gendarmerie at Scutari, and perhaps the man with the most intimate knowledge of the tangle of Balkan politics. He no doubt saved the bulk of the Serbian Army and kept the Albanians quiet during its transit through their territory. His experience of the retreat entirely bears out all I heard from Troubridge of the awful fate of the Austrian prisoners, some 12,000 out of 90,000 alone surviving. The present position causes him much despondency, and he traces the evil to the persistent way in which the Foreign Office adheres to timeworn prepossessions. He spoke in the most friendly way of our diplomatic agents personally, but he deplored their tendency to acquire the colour of the country to which they were accredited, so that the authorities at home were deprived of the independent testimony to which they were entitled. An indigenous microbe, to use his expression, seemed to infect them, and produced a kind of diplomatic myopia. The only one of whose public activity he had nothing but praise was de Salis, who he thought far and away the best-informed and most highly balanced of the lot. For King Nicholas of Montenegro he had nothing but the most whole-hearted contempt, a self-conscious charlatan whose hypocrisies were a source of infinite amusement

to himself and unmitigated disgust to those who came in contact with him. As to the military pretensions of both Serbia and Montenegro and their services to the Allies during the war, he thought as little of them as of the national character of the two peoples.

*April 22nd.*—I was abruptly called back to London this morning in order to proceed to Windsor at 12.5, for the purpose of passing an Order in Council in most drastic terms aimed at garrulous journalists and traffickers in confidential matter in connection with the secret Session it has been arranged for both Houses to hold on Tuesday next. Lord Rosebery, Stamfordham, and Ponsonby were at Windsor, so I went down with Lord Crewe alone, who favoured me with some interesting remarks on the temperament of a colleague as expressed in terms of politics.

*April 26th.*—I was brought up to London again this morning and had to pay a second visit to Windsor, this time in the evening, as the Irish Government desired additional powers in the present crisis to deal with sedition by military proeess. Lord Rosebery was still at the Castle, and we were able to make up a quorum on the same lines. Lord Rosebery, who adhered to the constitutional practice of not presenting himself unless duly summoned, was very nearly too late, and had a difficulty, while his servant was out, to find a frock-coat.

Lord Crewe's view of the situation in Ireland covered some surprise at the supineness of the authorities, which he was inclined to ascribe to the defects of the Dublin detective service. It has generally worked upon the treachery of the seditious; but it seems characteristie of the Sinn Fein movement that betrayers of the secrets are not found within its ranks.

*May 1st.*—The death of Lord St. Aldwyn diminishes by a very notable figure the small group of really distinguished men which the practice of politics has given to the country. But for some infirmities of temper, he might have reached the very highest position in the service of the State, but that was denied him at a moment when his abilities were in the fulness of their development. The acute criticism of the late Lord Goschen, "Beach is the only man I know who habitually thinks angrily," had a large measure of truth, and no doubt proved a drawback to effective co-operation with others, not to speak of the irritation it excited in lesser men. Time, however, imparted its mellowness to Lord St. Aldwyn, and the few years he passed in the House of Lords were a witness to the growing authority and reputation which he acquired both in and out of that assembly. Character gave its *cachet* to his eloquence, and few men held an audience more effectually by the stateliness of his carriage and the rare poise, selection, and dignity of his delivery. No man, while holding loyally to party ties, was freer from the atrophying

effect of party bias; his judgment always moved on the high plane of public duty, which was with him the constant object of unimpassioned devotion. The tragedy of his son's death, with its inheritance of unfulfilled renown, but a week before in the sands of the Sinaitic peninsula, gave a touch of almost classic gloom to the father's passing across the threshold of history. Of such is English story made.

*May 8th.*—I had a letter from Desart depicting in very serious terms the gravity of the crisis through which provincial Ireland had passed. Denuded of all defence, it was for some days a matter of touch-and-go how far the rebellion might extend, and it is Desart's deliberate judgment that, if the rebels in Dublin had held out for another two days, a large part of Ireland would have had to be reconquered. As it was, the fires of insurrection were very near the surface, with no means of extinguishing them, had they broken out. Reports were in circulation, and universally believed, that Verdun had fallen, France compelled to make a separate peace, and a German army landed in the South-West.

If the active forces enlisted on the side of the Sinn Fein were not very large, they could rely on the tacit acceptance by the populace of anything they might achieve. It only wanted the application of the torch to stir into flame the smouldering elements of secular discontent, and in the actual condition of the country a small success might have kindled a conflagration that would have spread like a forest fire. Even now Desart does not think the danger past, and in any case the passions of political hate have been reawakened and a legacy of violence with all its baleful effects of punishment and suspicion bequeathed to the people.

*May 10th.*—Council at Buckingham Palace, mainly for two Proclamations: (1) consolidating List of Commodities for Export subject to restriction or prohibition, and (2) extending the present restriction of imports. Crewe, Sandhurst, Allendale, and Hopwood were present; the King coming up from Windsor for the purpose of a large investiture, which followed at 11.20.

Hopwood told me great difficulties still stood in the way of the revision of the contraband policy. There is no doubt, however, that there is a growing acquiescence in our present action, both from the point of view of neutrals and of the advocates of increased rigour, the latest returns confirming the belief that a very effectual cordon is maintained round Germany.

*May 11th.*—Douglas Dawson called on behalf of Lord French, to obtain information on a point of great importance relating to the use of the Volunteer Force, which has at last received official recognition and is in process of formal enrolment. It appears that the lines of communication between the coast and interior points have become dangerously denuded, there being only three men to the mile instead of the proper complement of fifteen,

*Photo by J. Russell & Sons, 73 Baker Street, W.*

EARL OF DESART, K.P.

which in the event of a successful landing might be the source of serious trouble. It is Lord French's design to fill up the gaps with the volunteers, and he felt uncertain how far the provisions of the Volunteer Act of 1863, under which they were enrolled, were applicable to the present state of things, and any sudden call that might be made on their services. It seemed to me that the declaration of a state of emergency made to Parliament at the beginning of the war would probably meet the requirements of Sec. 17, under which an announcement in such terms was a condition precedent to calling out the Volunteers. This view was confirmed by the Parliamentary Counsel, and commended itself to Lord Crewe's judgment when I laid the question before him. It was accordingly possible to give Lord French an answer in less than three hours, and one, moreover, in terms conformable to the end he had in prospect, and I received a very cordial acknowledgment of my assistance towards the desired solution.

*May 22nd.*—I heard to-day of an authentic incident in the Prime Minister's interview with the Pope. In the course of their conversation His Holiness expressed the opinion that the United Kingdom was in the best position of all the Powers to make some overture towards the discussion of peace terms, upon which Asquith, with a characteristic movement of his shoulders, to be noticed, I am told, when he takes a trick at bridge, exclaimed in curt and untutored French, "Nous irons jusqu'au bout." Though somewhat taken aback at this *brusquerie*, the Pope extended to his visitor the courtesy of conducting him on his exit to the farthest point permissible by papal etiquette, and Sir H. Howard and O'Beirne, both of whom were present, afterwards admitted that, abrupt as was the form of the intervention, it was not without a salutary effect.

Asquith was immensely struck with the range of the King of Italy's information, the general soundness of his judgment, and the fixity of purpose upon which it rested.

*May 23rd.*—Council at Buckingham Palace. Crewe, Desart, Farquhar, and F. Ponsonby were present. An addition was made to the Regulations under the Defence of the Realm Act, providing that persons under certain circumstances should be tried by court martial "and not otherwise": a provision intended to save from the possible vengeance of a civil tribunal, Captain Colthurst, who is charged with having authorised the summary execution of Mr. Skeffington in a moment of excitement during the recent insurrection in Dublin.

It was at my suggestion Desart was summoned, much to Stamfordham's satisfaction, in order that he might place before the King the facts that came to his knowledge as a shrewd and independent observer resident in Ireland during the crisis. In effect, His Majesty kept him in conversation for half an hour.

*June 2nd–5th.*—Three nights at Broadlands. Quite a small party. We left London before the knowledge of the battle in the North Sea had become general, and Dufferin, who arrived later, brought the first news, which was not very explicit. Wilfrid Ashley telephoned to the office of "The Daily Express," which produced a very depressing announcement. It was clear that the ill-advised wording of the Admiralty *communiqué* had been interpreted as designed to conceal something worse. The morning papers raised the cloud a little, but it was not till Stanmore's arrival in the evening that we were permitted to take a more hopeful view. He had been to the Admiralty in the morning and got reassuring news from Hall: he came away with Bonham Carter, who was able to promise that, with every fresh communication, it would be seen that the confidence in our having done well would be increased. So it appeared on Sunday, when the King's message to Jellicoe placed the victory beyond doubt. It only remains to marvel how a Department presided over by such a master of language as Mr. Balfour could have issued so unfortunate and depressing a statement.

*June 6th.*—The loss of Kitchener fell like a thunderbolt from a clear sky. Few knew of his projected visit to Russia, and the first announcement that he was drowned awakened an almost angry incredulity. The British nation had hardly recovered from the shock of the Admiralty's circumspection on Friday last when it was called upon to face this new and wholly unexpected catastrophe. As soon as the sources of the disaster are cleared up, the authorities will have to face a searching demand for the reasons why a ship charged with so precious a burden was not provided with an adequate escort while in suspect waters. For K. himself no one can say that fate has been unkind. At the moment when the cold waters of the North closed above him his achievements were complete, though, like Moses, he was not to lead the people into the promised land of victory. What finer winding-sheet than the sea for any great man, and what more appropriate for one of Briton's sons? The whole world is the tomb of famous men, and for long his requiem will be chanted by the stormy waters which fume and fret round the crags of the Orkneys.

> "The waters were his winding-sheet,
> The sea was made his tomb,
> Yet for his fame the ocean was
> Not sufficient room."

Jack Tennant says that throughout the two years of their association, no angry, nor even a hasty word, ever fell from his lips, and, curiously, he could not produce a scrap of writing which had passed between them.

It is not a little memorable, seeing how soon he was to pass from the scene, that his introduction to the House of Commons, no longer ago than last week, was the most triumphant success, and, had he lived to test its effect, it would have been found that he had won the confidence of that assembly as completely as he enjoyed that of the masses of his countrymen.

*June 7th.*—I had luncheon with Julia Lady Tweeddale, where I met the Duchess of St. Albans, Dr. Campbell Morgan, and the Hyltons. The Duchess talked with extreme bitterness of the state of Ireland and the part taken by the Government in bringing it about. If she represents the feeling of her class, then the work of reconciliation in Ireland is indeed hopeless. In her judgment, the only Ireland to be considered is the narrow and selfish clique that inherits the traditions of the British garrison. The majority of the nation has, it appears, no rights against the pretensions of these persons, and the Government of Ireland has but one task, to make itself the tool of their prejudices and resentments. They call the Irish disloyal, but they make it plain that they themselves are only loyal at a price, viz. the subjeetion of the whole country to their caprice.

*June 8th.*—Council at Buckingham Palace in order to substitute a day in August for the Whitsuntide holiday and to apply Sec. 1 of the Munitions Act to the industrial dispute in Liverpool. Crewe, Sandhurst, Dr. Macnamara, and F. Ponsonby were present, and Frank Mildmay, who was back from the Front for a few days, attended to be sworn in, in field uniform, the first time it had appeared at the Board. Macnamara mentioned that his son now had a commission in the regiment in which his grandfather had been a sergeant: he was evidently surprised at the liberty accorded to Winston for airing his views of the naval action, but was inclined to think that the First Lord was only an accomplice to the extent of having yielded with a good-natured shrug of his shoulders to the other's insistence. The form of the first Admiralty *communiqué* was not so easy to extenuate, and Crewe, on the way back, expressed his extreme surprise that it had failed so signally in the requisite touch.

*June 13th.*—The commemoration serviee to the fame of Lord Kitehener was the most impressive of the many at which I have assisted beneath the dome of St. Paul's. The pomp of funerals, the light and shade of ceremonial liturgies, there take on something architectonic, to which the very lines of the great church appear to contribute. The memorial is not the unsubstantial passing of a momentary homage, but has a monumental quality age-long and eloquent. A day of storm and gloom, befitting a disappearanee with the suddenness and awe of Norse legend, was bringing the winds of the wintry sea, where the hero now lies, to the city in which his last and greatest work was done; but

at moments, almost magical in the significance of light, the sun shone through the high windows of the cupola and touched the walls of the building and the vast congregation below with a supreme benediction.

The service itself showed a conspicuous advance upon the conventional aims of cathedral chapters. The introduction of Handel's March from "Saul" in the middle of the rite, with a long ascending prelude of kettledrums, came with the greatest effect, and the plaint of the Kieff chant, to which the lamentations from the liturgy of St. Chrysostom were set, fell upon the air with vibrations of indescribable poignancy. The routine rhetoric of the pulpit was altogether eliminated, and the divine office allowed to stand alone with the dignity and completeness of a great symphony.

*June 20th.*—Lady Willingdon and the Wilfrid Ashleys came to luncheon. The first-named was looking none the worse for three years in Bombay—years too of great public stress, not to speak of personal loss; 34,000 men had been embarked under Willingdon's supervision since the beginning of the war, and some 70,000 disembarked. Ten days ago she had luncheon with the King and Queen, no one else being present, and found it very agreeable. Among the notable things that passed was the King's praise of Asquith, of whom she said he spoke very warmly, testifying to the soundness of his counsel and the strength of the support for which he could always look to him.

*June 26th.*—Selborne's resignation strikes an acute note of dissidence in regard to the Irish intentions of the Government, and reflects a state of opinion among Unionists that may express itself in further resignations. On the other hand, Selborne's tenacity may lead to nothing more serious than his own loss. However, there are grave misgivings abroad and the Cabinet to-morrow will prove very critical. The difficulty largely turns on the hold which words have upon the minds of men. What does it matter whether an arrangement is called provisional or permanent? There is nothing permanent in politics, but for all that the *œuvre de circonstance* is often the most lasting.

*June 27th.*—Council at Buckingham Palace, called somewhat hurriedly, in consequence of the King's departure this afternoon for Aldershot. Lord Crewe, Farquhar, Jack Tennant, and Fritz Ponsonby attended, and five of the new Privy Councillors presented themselves to be sworn in: Dr Addison, Mr. Bowerman (Labour), Sir G. Parker, Sir H. Samuel, and Sir G. Foster, the Canadian Minister of Commerce, who was present at the Paris Conference. It had been hoped that the appointment of the new Secretary of State might have been completed, but the confusion of Asquith's plans owing to the discovery that only four Secretaries of State are eligible to hold seats in the House of Commons,

has hung the projected arrangements up, which may now be complicated by larger measures of reconstruction.

Jack Tennant took very kindly the suggestion that there was no hurry in providing the War Office with a new Chief, as, under the present distribution of civil and military functions, no Department was being worked with more efficiency or despatch.

It is certainly very remarkable that the *entourage* of the Prime Minister should have been so slow to inform themselves of the effect of Sec. 4 of the Government of India Act, 1858. I was waiting with interest the intimation that it was intended to appoint a fifth Secretary of State, with a seat in the House of Commons, in order to explode the whole project by calling attention to the statutory prohibition.

*June 28th.*—The Cabinet met twice yesterday, owing to the staggering nature of the communication made at the earlier meeting by Sir John Maxwell. He told them, without circumlocution or hesitation, that the grant of Home Rule at the present moment would, in his opinion, mean the establishment of a Sinn Fein Government, and that Redmond, with the best intentions in the world, was powerless to avert it. Indeed, he went so far as to add that his life would not be worth twenty-four hours' purchase if he tried to do so. Something of the same kind was, I understand, the gist of the statement laid before the Prime Minister by the Unionists of the South of Ireland.

Altogether the agreement of the negotiators has been very seriously compromised, and Carson now says that, had he not believed Lloyd George was treating on behalf of a united Cabinet, he would never have gone the length he did. The real fact is, Lloyd George's diplomacy is not of high enough quality for the task: his method is to see the parties separately, and, having wrung from each some grudging admission upon an *ex parte* presentment of the case, to weave them into an agreed scheme by a liberal draught on his own imaginative faculties.

*June 29th.*—A service to the memory of Longford was held at St. Mary's, Bryanston Square. No one during his lifetime earned the fame of a good soldier more modestly, and few have confirmed it by a death more worthy; so it was not out of place that a note of triumph, not to say exultation, pervaded the rite. Lady Longford and her family of small children were a pathetic sight, as they bore themselves before a large congregation with courage and calm.

It has taken ten months to confirm the forebodings entertained about his fate, and this long trial of patience was no small part of the tragedy.

*July 2nd.*—We went down to White Lodge to have luncheon with the Farquhars. Princess Arthur of Connaught, Miss Bridget Colebrooke, and her brother and Richard Molyneux were in the

house, and the Alingtons and Mrs. Rupert Beckett also came from London. Lady Alington was in strong contrast to a slim, sixteen-year-old daughter, who had pretty manners and a ready wit. At luncheon I was next Mrs. Beckett, and glad of the first opportunity of talking to her, although she has been the wife of my first-cousin for nearly twenty years. She has both intelligence and charm, and her way of speaking gave me the impression of a woman of warm feeling, though it may be wayward in its exercise.

The plateau on which the house stands commands delightful views across the park, and the gardens were bright and attractive. I believe it was nearly sixty years since I, as a child, was last in the house, when it was occupied by the old Duchess of Gloucester, with whom my grandfather, who then lived at Sheen, was very intimate.

*July 7th.*—At the Council this afternoon, which was held an hour after the King's return from Aldershot, Lloyd George was sworn Secretary of State for War. I never saw him so radiant with satisfaction, positively inundating the atmosphere with a glow of conscious pride. R. Cecil was to have been present in connection with the order substituting new provisions upon contraband for the discredited remains of the Declaration of London, but the meeting of the Tory Party at the Carlton led him to apply for release, which the attendance of Lloyd George enabled me to give. Sandhurst, Colebrooke, and Crewe were also present.

*July 12th.*—Another Council was held to-day for the reshuffling of several ministerial offices consequent on Lloyd George leaving the Ministry of Munitions. He is succeeded by Montagu, whose double duty as Secretary of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Duchy is now transferred to McKinnon Wood, to be succeeded in his turn by Tennant. Happily, I got the news of Crawford's appointment to the Board of Agriculture late last night, and was able to rope him in to be sworn in as a Privy Councillor before his attendance at this morning's Cabinet meeting. Strange transformation which in a few days converts an orderly at a hospital clearing-station, some ten miles from the fighting line, into a Cabinet Minister. He had a strained look, which testified to the ordeal of suffering through which he had passed in the daily ministration to the wants of the wounded, and he avowed that he was hardly yet at home in the conditions of ordinary life. The King spoke to him with great feeling of all he must have witnessed through the unchanging horror of the situation, and indeed there are few who have met the obligations which the war imposed on high and low with such admirable self-effacement and unflinching adherence to a chosen line of duty, modest in its pretensions, overwhelming in its demands, and often terrible in its revelations.

*July 19th.*—Attacks upon the Government are growing in

frequency and asperity. The vast area of its responsibilities offers unrestricted opportunity for criticism, and the critics are not restrained by any consideration of measure or decorum. The effect on the Government is demoralising. The effort to disengage itself from the consequences of small mistakes blinds it to the cumulative waste of reputation involved in the maintenance of a continuous defensive, and a general indifference to censure takes the place of a prudent sensitiveness to the proved values of opinion.

*July 20th.*—Last night I dined with the Eustace Cecils. Robert Cecil was detained in the House of Commons by the threatening aspect of affairs, and left a gap at the table between Lady Vera Herbert and Mrs. Belloc Lowndes. Prothero, of "The Quarterly Review," and his wife, Fitzmaurice, late Chief Dragoman at Constantinople, Eldon, old Lady Sligo and others, were there.

Fitzmaurice confirmed my impression of the grave injury to British interests wrought by miscalculation within the Embassy.

*July 25th.*—I have seen a letter of Sir V. Horsley, written a few weeks before his death, wherein he describes the Mesopotamian muddle in terms of terrible significance. "All the failures," he says, "of this campaign and the losses due to sickness and death, are the logical outcome and inevitable result of not providing transport for the expedition. The essentials of life," he goes on, "cannot be furnished until we have river transport," and he complains of a total want of medical necessaries. "The treatment of the sick and wounded is still (June 8th) in my opinion insanitary and inhuman." His conviction appears to have been that it was largely due to the habitual neglect of medical representations. "I have collected," he says, "overwhelming evidence as to the effect on medical services of persistent financial refusal: essentials are not forthcoming, and it seems to me impossible that the professional combatant soldier could have so wholly failed unless he had been for years subjected to such financial pressure."

One in authority wrote: "I have never known public opinion in Bombay so profoundly and painfully affected by the experiences of the sick and wounded themselves and their account of facts lying within their personal knowledge." There was thus revealed a growing impression that our medical organisation was lamentably inadequate and inefficient, and in the result had led to an amount of suffering and loss of life which could not be fully explained by the difficulties inherent in the conditions of the campaign.

To all this the most inadequate reply was given, and the sole cause found in the increase of the force after the battle of Ctesiphon from two to seven divisions.

The plea of Indian poverty will no doubt be raised: a good reason, indeed, for limiting the extent of military adventures, but none at all for starving to the point of impotence those undertaken.

At the opening of the war India was denuded of some of her best soldiers and medical administrators to supply the needs of the Western front, and the conduct of Mesopotamian operations fell into second-rate hands, with the inevitable result of humiliation and failure.

*August 3rd.*—I had luncheon at the Chilian Legation, where I met a leading Chilian journalist, whose paper Edwards told me is the oldest journal in the Spanish language. Silva, the journalist in question, is an enthusiastic adherent of the Allies, who makes it his business to shape opinion in South America, and, so far as possible, in Spain, in the interest of the Allied cause. He had recently been on the French Front, where he had crossed the German lines in an aeroplane, and from the trenches had been the witness of an aerial combat which ended in the destruction of a German machine. He goes to Haig's headquarters next week, and is afterwards to visit the Grand Fleet.

Silva, whose wife is a Spaniard, had a good deal to say of the systematic German propaganda in the Peninsula, where two of the principal German newspapers are reprinted in Spanish. A priest, whom he met in his father-in-law's house, blandly told him that the battle of the Marne was an invention of the English and French, and, upon being asked the source of his information, produced a large stock of German authorities which circulated in the country. He quoted the Duke of Alba, as saying, when he was over here for the Shakespeare Tercentenary, that the Allies had only three sympathisers in Spain: the King, himself, and the *canaille*.

*August 18th.*—Council at Buckingham Palace. Wimborne was declared "Lieutenant-General and General Governor" of Ireland for the second time. He did not appear to rejoice in his return, and I have no reason to think that his powers will be any more real than heretofore. He enjoys, however, the advantage of intimate ties with his Chief Secretary from the accident of their parliamentary careers. For six years they were colleagues in the representation of Plymouth, during which their relations were most cordial.

Wimborne appeared to think the condition of the country far from satisfactory, and the Administration is evidently inclined to be cautious in the application of the restraining hand.

Allendale and A. Nicolson (Lord Carnock) were also present.

The death of Redesdale (Bertie Mitford, I prefer to call him) was not unexpected, and I had heard for some time of obscure pathological symptoms, which suggested a grave issue to his

illness ; but, none the less, his passing raises that order of emotion which belongs to epoch-marking disappearances. He belonged so absolutely to the past in the graces of his manner, the frankness of his address, and the high-bred courtesy of his deportment. A natural distinction, which fitted him like a garment, emanated from every movement. He was one of the most genuine of men, and friendship, as he gave it, knew no limitation or stint. Instinctively profuse, he acted, without any trace of ostentation, merely in response to the generous activities of his soul. There was no more delightful host, and in the place he created, and where happily he returned to die, he was seen at his best, giving to the house and all about it something of his own genius to please.

*August 22nd.*—I went down to the House of Lords to swear in Crewe as President of the Board of Education in the Lord Chancellor's room, the scene of much oath-taking, which is all recorded in the books of the Crown Office. Subsequently Henderson attended in the Lord President's room, to be sworn Paymaster General : he seemed happy at being relieved from the incubus of Education. His experience in the office had not been conspicuous in result or influence, and he naturally chafed under the restraints of a position which at every point placed him under the control of his subordinates. The Secretary's aggressive temper did not make things easier.

*August 28th–September 5th.*—At Ammerdown for a brief holiday, the enjoyment of which was much marred by the inclemency of the weather. However, the quiet and change in most pleasant surroundings did me good. I was alone with the family, except when General and Mrs. Peel came for the Sunday. He was a son of Archie Peel and Lady Georgiana, whom I used to know in old days, and she was one of the Drummonds of Cadlands, a most attractive woman whom it was a pleasure to see.

I was away, therefore, during the great Zeppelin conflagration which engrossed all wakeful London in the early hours of Sunday morning. I learnt, as soon as I got back, that the destruction of the vessel was a subject of peculiar congratulation, as the aeroplane which brought her down had machine-guns charged with the new incendiary bullets which our chemists have brought to perfection by a formula unknown to the Germans. It is not often that the first experimental use of a new explosive is crowned with such signal success.

*September 7th.*—Council at Windsor, 5.30. I had great difficulty in finding a quorum, as neither Stamfordham nor Ponsonby was available, and I had therefore to bring down three. Finally, however, I secured Emmott, M. de Bunsen, and Hopwood. The King was very courteous in telling the first-named that he was sorry to have given him the trouble, which touched Emmott

very much. His Majesty called de Bunsen's attention to the picture above the chimney-piece of a very lovely woman with her hair hanging down her back, which, he said, was a replica of one in the Palace of Schönbrunn by Winterhalter, representing the Empress Elizabeth in the first glory of her youthful beauty. There was something about it of sorrowful expectancy, some dim premonition of a catastrophic career, a look burdened with a sense of the inexorable. For once Winterhalter soared above the commonplace.

Hopwood gave me some interesting information as to our relations with Neutrals. In the earlier stages of the war, when the Swedes, mainly pro-German in sentiment, were very impatient of restraint, we might have dealt with them in a way that would easily have produced war, had not the Russian Government urged us at all costs to keep them quiet, as they greatly feared the possibility of a flank attack when they were *aux prises* with the German effort at the supreme point of pressure.

The difficulty of dealing with neutral shipping suspected of carrying contraband is illustrated by the story of a Dutch liner of 20,900 tons brought into Falmouth in the belief that there were 350 tons of copper included in her cargo. After detention for some days at Falmouth, she was ordered to Southampton, where, after further delay, it was found there was no dry dock big enough to hold her. She was next sent to the Downs, and some days later to the Thames, the 200 passengers she carried being wild with annoyance at the arrest of their voyage almost within sight of port. Moreover, she was by this time long overdue for her return voyage, and there were an equal number of people detained in the hotels at Rotterdam, waiting to embark in her. Finally, the Dutch Minister took the matter in hand, and the ship was allowed to proceed to Rotterdam upon the understanding that, if she proved to contain copper, it should be returned to England. There were 170 tons actually on board, which justified the seizure, but questions of demurrage and the maintenance on board of all the passengers will now have to be determined, and the British Government can only escape liability if reasonable care is shown to have been observed.

*September 29th.*—A memorial service for Charlie Feversham was held to-day at St. Paul's, Knightsbridge, attended by a large and deeply moved company of attached friends. His death strikes all who knew him with a grave sense of loss. Not one of his contemporaries among the class which he represented had played so well in every sphere of activity the parts which he assumed. Agriculture, fox-hunting, politics, and soldiering were but a few of his interests. In everything he undertook he impressed the spectator with the width and mastery of his outlook, the generosity of the survey, and the sincere effort he made, while

holding his own opinions with energy, to apprehend and acknowledge those he did not share.

His nine years in the House of Commons had given him a firm hold on the respect and affection of that assembly, and, with the reputation he had there acquired, his political future was assured. In the concerns of that great profession with which his last months of life and his hour of death will be inseparably associated, he was no less thorough; quick to seize the moment of action and happy in drawing from it the reward of effort, and with it all a manner and address which won the enthusiastic loyalty of those he commanded.

There was a warmth and brightness in his personality which both melted and compelled; he got the most out of men by sheer force of example, by the incomparable magnetism of high purpose and heroic resolve.

*October 2nd.*—The King returned from Windsor yesterday, and the opportunity was taken to hold a Council, at which Proclamations extending contraband and restricting import were submitted, and certain regulations for the Defence of the Realm, including more power to deal with tumultuous assemblies and proeessions, a thing much needed in Ireland. Lord Crewe was detained at Crewe Hall by a feverish chill, and Robert Cecil took his place, Newton, George Murray, and F. Acland completing the attendance.

*October 16th.*—Captain Hall, of the Intelligence Department of the Admiralty, calculates that, if Germany waits till her economic resources are exhausted before suing for peace, she will be face to face with a period of absolute starvation, as from three to four months must elapse before the necessary supplies are obtained from North or South America: he therefore looks to her showing the first official symptoms of having had enough in the course of the ensuing February, and claims to have every warrant for the belief from the knowledge at the disposal of his Department.

*October 23rd.*—I had a visit from Mr. Massey, the Premier of New Zealand, who is to be sworn to-morrow. He impressed me as a type of person not altogether common among colonial statesmen: a frankness and dignity of address set off a quiet and confident manner, which gave weight and purpose to his whole character. He was very proud of the contribution in men New Zealand had given to the war: at the outset he had thought the contingent would not exceed 25,000, but before the end he anticipated that no less than 100,000 would have been enrolled. The Maoris included in the levies were, he said, of a very superior type; indeed, he was particularly flattering to the intelligence of the race. They are, with the exception of the denizens of the Raratonga group, racially distinct from the other inhabitants of the South Pacific: a fact which supports the tradition main-

tained among them that they are emigrants from Asia, the migration, according to their computation, having taken place 800 years ago. He was interested to recall that my cousin, Admiral FitzRoy, the great meteorologist, got into trouble, when Governor of New Zealand, for the advanced views he held on the treatment of native races, ideas which he admitted were very unpopular in the forties of last century, but had since been vindicated by the intellectual and racial progress of which the Maoris have proved themselves capable.

*October 30th.*—A growing sense of distrust is observable in regard to the direction of naval policy, and the late affair in the Channel threatens to give it voice in a way that may be disagreeable to the Admiralty. There is no doubt that the attack found us totally unprepared; neither the flotilla at Harwich nor that at Dover was awake to what was passing.

The real fact is that far too large a proportion of the vessels that should be employed in patrolling the narrow seas and rooting out the submarine menace are concentrated in the far North for the protection of the battleship fleet. The exposure of these ships to no risk is indeed the obsession of the Admiralty and the higher command. No one is more imbued with the virus of inaction than Jellicoe himself. Officers of the more forward school are loud in their complaint and warnings, but both pass unheeded, though, to those who understand human nature, it is clear that the urgent cry is for something to break the monotony and exalt the spirit of the men before the mast, or behind the guns.

Evidence to this end is constantly forthcoming from those in touch with opinion in the Fleet, and it is also becoming clear that this game of so-called safety was largely responsible for the circumstances that robbed the battle of Jutland of what might have been decisive results. I have it on the authority of more than one member of Jellicoe's battle fleet that its appearance, three hours late, at the scene of action was due to deliberate hesitation, not to say obvious infirmity of purpose, on the part of the Commander-in-Chief. Whether it is true or not that a stormy interview took place between him and Beatty after the battle I know not, but I am told, from diagnosis of the action carefully compiled by an Admiral second to none in reputation as a naval strategist, there is absolute proof of the failure to put the great Fleet, when it did appear, to adequate use.

*November 2nd.—Jour des Morts.*—The Requiem Mass at the Westminster Cathedral witnessed to a wonderful translation of the divine office into the terms of human feeling. The music was of an order almost too sensitive for expression, of a touching beauty and regret that seemed to strip the soul of its material envelope and lay bare the very sources of sorrow itself. No note

was wanting, elemental or profound. The sun, in the main unclouded, streamed upon the broad spaces between the altar and the choir like the light from another life; but, as if to remind mankind of the insecurity of hope, there was ever and anon the recurring shadow which makes that hope forlorn.

The picture of our poor race at the brink of the open grave was the motive of the whole, and the light beyond appeared hardly more than a luminous haze, momentarily perhaps pierced by a distant star.

*November 6th.*—Council at Buckingham Palace, mainly for the purpose of prohibiting conduct like that of Miss Hobhouse in availing herself of her freedom abroad, under a Foreign Office passport, to enter into relations with the enemy. Crewe, Desart, Farquhar, and Colebrooke were present. The King took the opportunity of talking to Desart, from whom he ean obtain perhaps a fairer estimate of the Irish situation than politicians on either side are capable of giving.

Lutyens' designs for the new buildings at Delhi were displayed in the corridor. As a blend of Eastern and Western ideas in architecture they are not without striking features: the interior of one of the great halls, with an arcaded ceiling, is perhaps the finest in conception. The principal building stands at the summit of an acclivity up which the main approach is traced.

*November 16th.*—Council this morning for the approval of the new Food Regulations, which give drastie powers to the Board of Trade for their application to any articles of diet. Lord Crewe, Sandhurst, Hopwood, and F. Ponsonby were present. The Government have no one in their mind in whose hands to place the duties of Food Directorship; but, armed with the elaborate resources the Regulations provide and with the information possessed by the Board of Trade at his disposal, the task will not offer insuperable difficulties to any man of energy and ability.

*November 23rd.*—Another Council this morning, to provide for the prohibition of unofficial drilling, in special regard to the present condition of Ireland. I accordingly asked the Chief Secretary to attend, which he did very gladly, and was flattered by having an audience of the King.

To judge from the slight opportunity I had of hearing Mr. Duke's view upon his administrative task, he appears to recognise that the crux of Irish politics is to interest the population in matters outside the narrow circle of jealousy and suspicion—wherein the professional politician finds an easy field for the exploitation of the simple and unwary. At least, too, unlike his predecessor, he recognises the duty of making Ireland his home.

I met Kenyon coming into the Palace as I arrivcd, and gave him my benediction on his coming marriage, which he has post-

poned to a late period of life. However, he is one of the most capable men I know, and he is entitled to all the good fortune he can enjoy.

*November 27th.*—(Sir H.) Rawlinson came into the Travellers' after luncheon, and I was able to talk to him for some time. He has a fortnight's leave, the first week of which he wisely spent in the country, and is now, he said, quite ready to go back. His experience, as the man who has had immediate charge of the Somme operations since the beginning of July, is very encouraging, and, according to him, the general feeling at the Front is one of confidence and hopefulness. Of course, no large movement is for the present contemplated, but, as opportunity offers during the winter, bites, some large, some small, will be made in the enemy's position, and no chance will be lost to inflict upon him as heavy casualties as possible. In his judgment, all that was published upon the gradual sapping of the German moral was more than justified. It was not universal, but infected all classes in their Army, and was often to be found in the best units, such as the Guard—the effect of the tremendous hammering to which they had been exposed. Not a day passed without a considerable number of deserters coming in, and nothing was more eloquent of the state of things in the German lines. One man, who had lived years in England and might easily have been taken for an Englishman, assured his captors that he was dead sick of the war, and his only wish was to get back to London and never leave it.

Steps are in contemplation for a vigorous handling of the South Wales industrial difficulty. The decision is reserved for the Cabinet on Wednesday, immediately after which the King may be asked to hold a Council. It is likely that the whole Welsh coal-field will be taken over by the Government, with the corollary that the striker will be treated as a public enemy and liable to heavy penalties. By these means it is hoped that other sources of friction will be neutralised and the militancy of master and men once for all countered.

*November 29th.*—After some hesitation on the part of the Board of Trade, it was arranged to hold a Council this evening, in order to authorise the control of the South Wales coal-field by the Government. Runciman was detained, so that a bare quorum was formed by Lord Crewe, Allendale, and F. Ponsonby. The decision to act was held over for the ratification of the Cabinet, but the consequential step whereby the striker was to be treated as a public enemy was dropped and negotiation left as the only means for bringing the men to reason.

*November 30th.*—The expected changes at the Admiralty have now been announced, not altogether to the satisfaction of naval opinion. It is feared, too, in some quarters that it will be hailed as a new surrender to the pressure of the Northcliffe Press. The

decision was, I am told, taken after a conference at Rosyth, to which the First Lord of the Admiralty, with the Naval Secretary, repaired in order to meet Jellicoe, so that the Admiralty as a Board had nothing to say to it, except in so far as it may have been asked to endorse the settlement. Incidentally, the promotion of Beatty to the command of the Grand Fleet compels three Admirals senior to him to strike their flags—Burney, Sturdee, and Jerram—all men of great distinction, and the first two possessing the confidence of the Navy to a high degree: one or two of these will undoubtedly be brought into the Admiralty, displacing Arthur Calthorpe, who, being junior to Beatty, can resume a place in the Grand Fleet, though his withdrawal from Whitehall, where he has done good work, is a matter of regret. At any rate, the reproach to the Admiralty that it has not hitherto included a sufficient number of men with experience gained in the course of the war will be removed.

*December 4th.*—The anxious and perplexed surmises of the Sunday Press were given shape this morning by the Prime Minister's announcement that reconstruction had been in principle accepted. I had a long and intimate talk with Crewe on the subject, who candidly allowed that the War Committee had so far proved a failure, owing to the hereditary taint transmitted by a Cabinet itself overwhelmed with numbers and garrulity. Far from meeting daily, in accordance with the original idea, it now attracted attention if it met three times in one week, while its processes appear to have become, as I had heard from other authoritative quarters, conversational, desultory, and to a large extent academic. He dismissed the idea that the Prime Minister could be asked to resign, for two reasons: first, that he alone could command a majority in the present House of Commons, and, secondly, that a Unionist Government, from many points of view expedient, would not have the requisite support in the country.

In his judgment, the only thing to be done was to suspend the ordinary life of the Cabinet and concentrate effective energy in a small War Committee, whose members should be largely, if not altogether, disembarrassed of departmental duties. Indeed, he had submitted to the Prime Minister a Memo. to that effect.

*December 5th.*—The Council this morning was attended by Lords Crewe, Derby, Knollys, and Sandhurst. Derby was there by special request of the King, and, looking to the departmental ties between him and Lloyd George, his conversation with His Majesty was vested with particular importance. The statements in the papers certainly suggested something more than a latent hostility on the part of Lloyd George towards the Prime Minister, and I was therefore very pleased to hear from Derby's own lips,

given with characteristic frankness and determination, that he would be no party to any steps that threatened Asquith's position, whom he seemed to think as indispensable as he appeared to Crewe. The object to be secured was, in Derby's view, a War Committee, small in number and unfettered in responsibility: he wanted no more, and he would be satisfied with no less. Discussions as to how it should be composed, such as had been initiated in the Press, were at this stage both unimportant and futile.

Knollys, who was at luncheon in Downing Street last week, did not think the Prime Minister looking at all well. Health may easily account for much which is charged against him.

From information that reaches me of the feeling in Unionist circles, it does not look as if Derby's personal friendliness to the Prime Minister was reflected among prominent members of his party. The impression is both widespread and deep-rooted that his temperamental hesitations have reached a point that really threatens the energetic prosecution of the war. If this is so, and the conviction is shared by those Liberals who still retain confidence in Lloyd George, it is difficult to see how the Prime Minister can extricate himself from the toils of the present situation, except by the surrender of the substance of power, even if he still grasps the shadow. It is his inconclusiveness in guiding the deliberations of the War Committee that is commonly believed to be the cause of its paralysis, and, if he insists on doing more than keep his hand on its pulse, he will be forced to choose between submission and resignation.

*December 8th.*—Lloyd George's success in forming a Government, which is now assured, is due to two causes: the public spirit of the Unionist members of the outgoing Ministry, and the new Prime Minister's dexterity in dealing with the Labour Party, of which it was a commonplace with official Liberalism that they would not put up with Lloyd George.

The Unionists deserve credit for rallying to the standard of a man they have no cause to love, and no one more so than Arthur Balfour, whose removal from the moribund Cabinet Lloyd George had urged upon Asquith, who as stoutly refused compliance.

The differences between these two disclosed by Asquith at the Reform Club, though giving the impression of a not very cleverly concealed intrigue, must not be taken too seriously in estimating Lloyd George's part in it. He has the mentality characteristic of his countrymen, an inexactitude, which is quite outside the control of his will. A fact with him is nothing static, no matter of definite shape or precise limits, but something fluid, like quicksilver, which under pressure of circumstance may take any form you like to give it.

*December 9th.*—I took farewell of Lord Crewe, and had at least the consolation that his resolve to leave office would give

him the rest which after eleven years' arduous work he had most undoubtedly earned. The hardest worker in the Cabinet, his state of health makes a period of recuperation imperative, though the labours upon which he had entered and was guiding with so much wisdom towards the true end of reconstruction, have to be transferred to others.

Having ascertained that Curzon could see me at 5.30, I went at that hour to pay my respects to my new Chief. He received me very cordially, and testified to his satisfaction in being associated with one he had known all his life. He is evidently nervous before the strain which new responsibilities will involve, and I did my best to reassure him as to the assistance he could command within his new office. For a man as constitutionally delicate as he has proved to be, the preoccupations of a War Committee which meets daily, might well have given him pause; but, as far as one could judge, it was his position as leader of the House of Lords that seemed to intimidate him most.

*December 11th.*—Council for the delivery of seals to the principal members of the new Administration, before which certain of the retiring Ministers were received in audience by the King. With a view to removing any atmosphere of restraint, Derek Keppel had arranged for their being confined in separate pens, but the precaution was unnecessary, as Lloyd George, who otherwise might perhaps have been in some danger, was kept away by an ominous attack of illness, and Curzon swooped into the room and took possession of Buckmaster as if no differences divided them.

The proceedings were got through without a hitch, the only unforeseen circumstance being the appearance of Milner unsummoned, a thing that, so far as I know, had not occurred since the famous *coup d'état* engineered by the Duke of Shrewsbury when Queen Anne lay dying and the Council was assembled to arrange for the proclamation of her successor.

On the whole, the new arrangement seems to guarantee some stability.

We had an interesting baronetcy case before the Privy Council Committee, which turned on the legitimacy of the issue of a bigamous marriage, one of the parties to which was ignorant of any impediment. Desart presided; Lord Strathclyde, Dunedin, Sandhurst, and Scott Dickson (Lord Justice Clerk) being the other members of the tribunal. The case was well argued by Macphail, of the Scottish Bar, who unfolded its strength by carefully prepared stages, and did not ask the Court to accept too much at the first onset. Ultimately, it was decided to give judgment in favour of the petitioner early next week.

*December 13th.*—A large batch of new Privy Councillors were sworn in to-day, including Sir Albert Stanley, the new President

of the Board of Trade, who was born in Michigan barely forty years ago. I made his acquaintance yesterday, and was much struck by his alert air, pleasing address, and the promise of other more solid qualities. Mr. Hodge, the new Minister of Labour, looked the part to perfection. It was, I suppose, a sign of the pact between Toryism and Labour that led Curzon to throw an overwhelming cordiality into his greeting: indeed, Mr. Hodge might almost have been justified in believing that the dearest wish of the other's heart was now satisfied.

Lloyd George again failed to appear, and his secretaries neglected to give me any warning.

*December 22nd.*—At the Council this morning Lloyd George came to the scratch and was at last sworn in as First Lord of the Treasury. I never saw him look happier, wreathed in smiles and displaying a buoyant confidence that seemed to guarantee success. Crawford received the Privy Seal, the only one of the official seals with a history, as it has not been renewed since the accession of William IV. Fisher and Clyde were sworn Privy Councillors, and after the Council the King's Speech was approved.

## 1917

*January 10th.*—When the appointed Council came off, I was laid up with a septic throat and considerable fever, and so obliged to leave the conduct of it to my deputy. Curzon was prevented attending by the claims of the War Cabinet following upon Lloyd George and Milner's return from Rome; but I had arranged to have Crawford there as his understudy, Lord Rhondda, Maurice de Bunsen, and F. Ponsonby being the others.

I had a letter from Stamfordham in the evening, conveying a very kind message from the King, who, he said, was ready to come to London next week if the embroilment with Greece should issue in war, a situation which the Foreign Office deemed at this moment more than likely; but there is no saying what counsels may not prevail at the last moment, in the course of a gamble where a crown is at stake. There is no doubt, moreover, that King Constantine is timid.

*January 24th.*—The King came up again from Sandringham for Council business, and we took the opportunity of having Sir J. Jordan (appointed in 1915), Lord Cowdray, and Messrs. Gulland, Wiles, and Leif Jones sworn; the last three not a very distinguished lot. As an instance of the astonishing want of information that prevails in the Prime Minister's *entourage*, Stamfordham had been informed that the day fixed for the opening of Parliament was Tuesday, February 6th; whereas the Order and Commission for the prorogation had distinctly appointed Wednesday the 7th. My own recollections as to the terms of the former

were precise, and Sandhurst, who had been one of the Commissioners, was equally certain; and yet, in a matter so closely affecting the convenience of the King and the Members of both Houses, no accurate knowledge existed in Downing Street.

*February 6th.*—The Council before the opening of Parliament was held to-day, Curzon, Crawford, Sandhurst, and Colebrook being present. From a conversation in which I shared, it seems that Downing Street's *incuria* in dealing with His Majesty's communications is as marked as in the case of less important persons. The complaint is no doubt largely due to the lack of authority at the command of Lloyd George's staff, not one of them having the knowledge, still less the courage, to point out in unmistakable terms what has to be done, and that with despatch.

*February 12th.*—By the death of the Duke of Norfolk the country is the poorer for fine character and unfaltering integrity. No one stood higher in strength of purpose and the dignity of simple virtue. It is not a little singular that, among the most conspicuous types of human worth with which I have been brought in contact, three should belong to the same great communion: the Duke of Norfolk for sheer force of goodness, Lord Acton for universal knowledge untouched by a shade of arrogance, and Cardinal Manning for the genius of command. The Duke made the strongest appeal to the affections, Lord Acton to the feeling of reverence, and the Cardinal to the instinct of awe. As to the Duke, no more lovable nature was ever enshrined in human form: his power of sympathy, his sense of justice, his spirit of comprehension, were alike unique. He moved perpetually on a plane of equality with all that was best in man, and yet in a medium of gentle tolerance for his lapses and imperfections. There was no more delightful colleague, and in the troublesome atmosphere of ceremonial business he was never impatient or disturbed. He exalted the commonplace and illuminated routine. He could take defeat good-humouredly, as when he appeared officially before a Committee of the Privy Council (Lord St. Aldwyn, Dunedin, and Sir J. Kennaway) to which the King had referred a difference between the Earl Marshal and the Home Office on the Baronetcy Warrant 1910, and had to accept an unfavourable verdict. His kindliness was so great that his dissent was often more gracious than another's agreement. I sat through the proceedings of two Coronation Committees under his chairmanship, and I shall never forget the tact with which he controlled the restless pretensions of one distinguished member. His indeed was the *anima naturaliter christiana*, and, wherever it voyages now, be sure that its track is full of light.

*February 16th.*—The main object of to-day's Council was an Order in reply to the submarine campaign enforcing the regulations of the blockade against Neutrals with direct access to the Central

Powers, but making the concession of permitting examination in other ports than those of the United Kingdom. At the last moment a telegram from Spring-Rice asked for the postponement of its issue, but we proceeded with the submission all the same. Curzon, R. Cecil, Farquhar, and F. Ponsonby were present. R. Cecil deprecated to some extent the anxiety caused in certain quarters by Haig's observations to the French journalists. He quite agreed that anything was better than swelling the chorus of deliberate despondency, but some of the expressions which appeared in the newspapers, possibly the result of a clumsy reproduction of the French original, were, he thought, a little too emphatic for the occasion.

*February 23rd.*—Lloyd George having delivered himself this afternoon at a special sitting of the House of Commons, the moment was ripe for the submission of the Proclamation drastically restricting imports. Our Allies have taken the right view that, looking to the common interest they all have in making the available tonnage go as far as possible, it was necessary to accept restrictions; but there is no doubt that the powers granted to the Board of Trade to relieve the pressure by licences will be prudently exercised. The effect of the Proclamation is to place the imports of the country under the control of the Government, which will be used as far as practicable towards the promotion of the general interests of the Alliance. Curzon, Sandhurst, Newton, and F. Ponsonby were present. Newton saw the King afterwards to explain the general position so far as British prisoners in Germany were concerned: it involved great difficulty, and people show much unreason in failing to recognise the insurmountable obstacles to any general exchange, so long as Germany claims to require ten for every one she surrenders.

*March 7th.*—The issue of the first section of the Dardanelles Report, though it does little more than confirm impressions gathered from the facts that came to my knowledge at the time, gives form and substance to what were then largely matters of surmise, and places the case against individuals in due proportion, while doing so without bitterness and subject to a scrupulous regard for fairness.

Two things come out with great distinctness: the magnetism, almost amounting to hypnotic influence, which Winston Churchill exercised over the late Prime Minister, and the cool prescience with which Fisher saw the expedition sink in the morass of failure. The most annoying feature in the whole transaction is the nearness with which, in spite of all, it came to success.

*March 12th.*—Mr. Schreiner, High Commissioner of South Africa, came to see me this afternoon for directions on the ceremony to-morrow, when he is to be sworn a Privy Councillor. Happily I learnt from him that General Smuts was expected in London

this evening, and was therefore able to arrange for his attendance to the same end. Schreiner gave me an interesting review of Smuts's career, who from his Cambridge days has cherished friendly feelings for this country, which he unceasingly manifested in opposition to Krüger until the war broke out. He had then, as a loyal Transvaaler, to follow the fortunes of his country, but it was his influence, thrown into the scale with that of Botha, which enabled the Transvaal authorities to withstand the party which wished to continue the war, and finally brought the negotiations to a happy issue. Schreiner added it was not a little remarkable that the line of cleavage which was then established has remained practically unaltered in all the later developments of South African policy.

Dined with Lady Jersey to meet an American medico from Harvard University, who is in charge of a hospital in France, to which country he is on his way. I acted as host, and took in Lady Selborne; the Hyltons, Lady Northcote, and John Murray of Albemarle Street completing the party. Lady Selborne was not very enthusiastic in praise of Smuts; it may be in recollection of some old cause of friction, though generally speaking she is fair-minded enough and always agreeable.

*March 13th.*—Smuts turned up in time for the Council, which was attended by Curzon, Farquhar, Sir E. Cawley, and F. Ponsonby. The King pricked the Sheriffs and afterwards received Smuts, by whose soldierly bearing and pleasant manner I was very much impressed. He took his honours very simply, and played throughout a dignified and self-possessed part.

*March 14th.*—A Committee of the Privy Council sat to hear the petition of Trinity College of Music for a charter of incorporation, which was opposed by the Royal Academy of Music, the Royal College of Music, the Guildhall School, and the Incorporated Society of Musicians. I had taken some pains in the selection of the tribunal, which consisted of Crewe in the chair, Crawford, Lord Wrenbury, Sir E. Goschen, and Fritz Ponsonby. Lord Crewe had been conversant with the case during its consideration by the Privy Council Office, Lord Wrenbury's legal acumen was of great value, and Crawford gave signal assistance by virtue of his musical affinities and also from his knowledge of the men who were the protagonists upon the musical aspects of the controversy; Sir E. Goschen is, moreover, a musical expert both as an executant and in the study of musical theory, while Ponsonby is a cultivated amateur. The argument lasted the whole day, and the hearing was ultimately adjourned for a fortnight in order to give the petitioners an opportunity of answering an affidavit put in by Parratt and Villiers Stanford challenging the value of the certificates granted by Trinity College.

At luncheon Lord Wrenbury told an excellent story illus-

trative of the Indian's passion for litigation. A man forged a bill and proceeded to bring an action for the recovery of the sum named; the defendant presumably would have been content to prove the forgery: not a bit of it; he promptly forged a receipt, and produced it in court as his defence.

*March 17th.*—The Russian Revolution, after a week in the making, has realised a resounding triumph. Provoked by the reactionaries to serve their own purposes, it has recoiled on the heads of its authors with destructive force and borne away with it the embarrassed phantom of imperial authority. Nothing in his rule became the Tsar so well as his manner of laying it down, and he passes into retirement with the compassion due to a man who is the victim of forces he has vainly essayed to control. Discussing the situation this evening, Arthur Nicolson, who naturally looked with melancholy on the dissolution of the world he knew, saw in the cataclysm some cause for satisfaction and hopefulness; but he could not dissemble grave anxiety lest the violent element, never far from the surface of Russian society, should become unchained. Inflammable material is so ready to hand that at any moment the sparks may run among the stubble, and all assured order be submerged in a sea of ignorance and credulity.

The character of the provisional Government, he admitted, inspired confidence, and, if the chiefs of the Army were sincere in rallying to its support, all would go well. Nothing was to be expected of the Grand Duke Michael, who was a feeble and irresolute copy of his brother, without the same claim to respect on the score of character: nor was there any member of the Royal House, except the Grand Duke Nicholas, who could speak with the enemies of the throne, should they seek to overthrow it. The prospect depended on the judgment and probity of untried men called to supreme authority at the gravest crisis in a nation's destiny, and the unknown factors in the movement were too considerable for any confident diagnosis. A sense of common peril might be society's best security.

*March 23rd.*—I walked back from luncheon with Lord Rhondda, who was pleased to have my testimony to the energy he had injected into the Local Government Board. His ambition, he said, was to realise that Office's ideal as a great public health department, wherein he is up against the vested interests of the Board of Education and the Insurance Commission, both creations of the last few years. He no doubt knew that the independent existence of the latter body was due to the mutual dislike of Lloyd George and John Burns, and also to the necessity of finding a safe retreat for the rebellious talents of Sir R. Morant; but it is none the less a serious obstacle in the path of unified progress. I took occasion to impress upon him that his relations with the

Pharmaceutical Society, and no less with the British Medical Association, must be governed by the fact that they were respectively two of the closest trade unions to be found in the United Kingdom.

The Declarations of the American Government act as a drag upon the impatience of opinion. When the moment of action arrives the President is apt to be paralysed by the sense of his own integrity, and an awkward pause ensues until he succeeds in adjusting these two factors. A distinct step, however, has been taken in the acceleration of the meeting of Congress by a fortnight.

*March 28th.*—Arthur Nicolson has seen Cambon, who takes a very desponding view of the situation in Russia. He is never at the best of times in buoyant spirits, but his misgivings lest the revolution should take a violent turn darken his whole field of vision. The prospect, however, under the fallen Government was strewn with pitfalls, and there is at least a unity of purpose in the ranks of the present authorities, which, if it ean be maintained against subversive intrigues from either extreme, affords better security for the future.

The adjourned hearing on the petition of Trinity College was resumed. Affidavits and counter-affidavits were as thiek as bees. Most of the morning was occupied by Simon's speech in opposition. It was crafty and persuasive ; but I never can listen to him without recognising Lord Loreburn's descriptive label.

The conclusion was remarkable. When the court was cleared, Lord Crewe explained his position, which was on the whole favourable to the petitioners, though he declared himself open to conviction by anything his colleagues might say. Lord Wrenbury then stated the case against the grant with great force and acumen ; Crawford, the only expert on the subject, who had been of the greatest use throughout the case, was emphatically on the same side, to which Fritz Ponsonby and Sir E. Goschen also adhered. As the decision in the Privy Council goes by a majority, and no dissent is expressed, Crewe, whether convinced or not, at once proceeded to declare judgment for the opponents.

In the course of the discussion Lord Wrenbury laid down what he assumed to be the considerations which should determine the grant of charters : in so doing he went some way beyond our practice in the stress he laid on special and exceptional claims. The *desiderata* we have always sought to obtain are, first, the support of the application by men of weight and eminence ; secondly, proof that the institution or organisation concerned is of conspicuous utility ; and, thirdly, that its financial status is reasonably assured.

*March 30th.*—Council at Buckingham Palace to deal with a variety of objects : Bank Holiday on April 7th ; summer-time to

come into force on April 8th, and the suspension of the Eight Hours Act in shale-oil mines. Curzon, Newton, Sandhurst, and F. Ponsonby were present. The last told me he had heard in many quarters of the satisfaction felt at the Privy Council's decision on Wednesday: he seems to have gathered, from conversation with Bridge,[1] that he hardly anticipated success. At any rate, they were satisfied that they had had a good run for their money.

*April 14th.*—I came up to London for a Council, the King being at Buckingham Palace a few hours for an investiture. Crawford took Curzon's place, and Emmott, Francis Hopwood, and F. Ponsonby completed the attendance. Curzon has been confined to his bed most of the week under stress of his constitutional malady. On such occasions he appears to give himself the relaxation of reading poetry, the lyrics of A.E. being for the moment in favour, some of which he recited with evident enjoyment to his Private Secretary!

*April 20th.*—Neville Chamberlain was at last sworn as Director of National Service, the ceremony having been suspended until the outcome of the wrangles, which, while paralysing his activity, nearly resulted in resignation. The end has been achieved partly through his own patience and partly through the good sense of Mr. Hodge and his success in curbing the pretensions of the Labour Exchanges. Curzon, to whose house we went, was condoling with Chamberlain on the difficulties he had encountered, upon which I asked him whether it was not the case that they were largely due to the pressure put upon him to act before he had been able to think out and develop any scheme of policy. That, he said, was undoubtedly the case, and added that six months' deliberation would not have been too much.

We had a sudden Council on the King's return from St. Paul's, which had been arranged yesterday to meet the requirements of Lord Devonport, who has found it necessary to assume possession of all the flour-mills in the country, in order better to secure the enforcement of his order as to milling. Crawford again took Curzon's place, Lord Devonport, Stamfordham, and Maurice de Bunsen forming the rest of the attendance.

Crawford gave me the important information that an arrangement had been reached with the Argentine Government, who had felt a difficulty in giving us any preference in the supply of foodstuffs, whereby any deficiency in their stocks, caused by the export of meat or cereals to this country, should be made good from Australia.

*April 26th.*—Haldane sent for me on the rising of the court, and I had forty minutes with him, wherein I noted again the great change wrought by the disappointments and chagrins of

[1] Sir Frederick Bridge.

the last few years. The ostensible object of the interview was the Scottish Universities (Preliminary Examinations) Ordnance now before the Committee of the Privy Council, in whose deliberations he wished to share, looking to the immense importance of regularising at this stage of educational development the points of contact between the Secondary School and the University.

Diverging to other topics, the need of the highest type of instruction in administration led him to talk of the London School of Economics' services in that connection. He had there trained a whole school of military administrators, whose work at the mobilisation and afterwards behind the lines on the French Front, had made the conduct of the present war such a conspicuous success, at any rate, in the field of communications and supply.

It was interesting to hear him say that from the first, in dealing with the problems of a possible war with Germany, he had accepted as axiomatic that the military frontier of England was coterminous with that of France, and it was upon that assumption all his military policy was based. The actual achievement of rapid mobilisation, a result obtained in nine days, the estimate being twelve, was, he claimed, the direct fruit of the opportunities offered him in 1906 by the German Emperor to study the Prussian system at first hand. Reventlow has recognised the fact in a recent book, wherein Haldane is the target of a most virulent attack, being held up as a traitor who abused the confidence of his host, and a spy.

Comparing this treatment with the measure meted out to him by large masses of his own countrymen, he said with profound melancholy, " I am not left with a spiritual home in any country."

*April 27th.*—Luncheon with Lady Northcote, where I met the Cranbornes and Captain and Mrs. Halsey. Lady Cranborne has both beauty and charm, and I should say plenty of intelligence; he continues the Cecil type, with nice manners and a reflective face. Halsey is at present Fourth Naval Lord, and a man upon whom Jellicoe places a great deal of reliance.

*April 28th.*—I received from Lord Devonport his draft of the Proclamation His Majesty is desired to issue on the urgency of economy in the consumption of grain. The preamble contained a passage in denunciation of " the cruel and tyrannical Monarch " it was the end of the war to overthrow, a passage altogether outside the objects of the Proclamation, doubtful in taste and not calculated to serve its purpose, which, I understand, was to save the Crown in the estimation of certain people from suspected friendliness to the German Emperor. Such stage thunder was more likely to suggest such a charge than to free the King from it. At any rate, I struck it out at once, and found a few minutes later, on telephoning to Stamfordham at Windsor, that he saw the gravest objection to it. With the aid of the Parliamentary

Counsel, while retaining the substance of the draft, we put it into a form not open to criticism, while giving it as much dignity and impressiveness as the subject justified. In forwarding it to Stamfordham I suggested that, looking to the charge placed upon the clergy to read it for four Sundays in their churches, it would be expedient to have the Archbishop's presence at the Council.

*April 30th.*—I heard from Stamfordham that the King had accepted the Proclamation, as amended here, with relief: he added, "I quite agree with the proposal that the Archbishop should be asked to attend the Council, and think this is a very good idea, and of course the King will approve." The Archbishop was with me in the afternoon, and betrayed great pleasure at the invitation to attend: he was grateful too for my proposal to substitute the word "enjoin" for "command" in the direction to the clergy to read the Proclamation in their churches. He knows, indeed few should know better, the indocility of the clergy to anything in the shape of a command.

*May 2nd.*—The Council for the Proclamation was held this morning; Curzon, the Archbishop, Farquhar, and F. Ponsonby attending. By great effort the Stationery Office will deliver copies to the clergy to-morrow morning, and the general distribution to the Sheriffs and Mayors has been revived upon the most extended scale. Further, I approached the War Office with a view to the circulation of the Broadsheet to all military messes and canteens. The idea was received with the utmost cordiality, and no less than 3,000 copies were placed in their hands for the purpose.

*May 4th.*—I was overtaken this morning by Charles Stewart (the Public Trustee), who showed me a letter from his agent in Belfast giving sinister accounts of submarine activity. "The German submarines," he said, "are at full swing in our local seas: Belfast is to-day [May 2nd] cut off from all communications by sea, every vessel approaching the port for the last eight hours has been put down—in broad daylight—some of them boarded; and much of all this was done not more than four miles from land and in full view. We shall soon be short of many things, but the true position is being kept from the public—one would almost believe that it was being done deliberately in order to create trouble."

I communicated this to Curzon, who complains that it is impossible to obtain information from Jellicoe or Carson. He instantly asked for chapter and verse, with the date, etc., to lay it before the War Cabinet, and I telephoned to Charles Stewart accordingly, who sent it down within ten minutes, and it was in Curzon's hands in another five. Naval authority is apt to reject all information brought to it unofficially, and he was therefore

much pleased to have first-hand evidence which could not be disputed.

*May 7th–10th.*—I was confined to bed with troublesome symptoms of blood-poisoning in the leg, which happily yielded to treatment with unexpected promptitude. Curzon sent me, while I was laid up, the authoritative Admiralty comment on the proceedings in the submarine war off Belfast, with minutes by Duff, Oliver, and Carson himself. With some cynicism it was remarked that it was the first time Belfast had suffered, and stress was laid on the fact that most of the damage was done after nightfall; but, as that included the period between 7 p.m. and midnight, some ignorance was betrayed of the conditions of light under the present advance of the clock at a point so far north, and at the same time several degrees west of the meridian of Greenwich. As a matter of fact, it must have been broad daylight up to 10 p.m. Altogether the impression left upon the mind by the apology was not convincing.

*May 12th.*—Ernest Beckett (Grimthorpe), a memorial service for whom I attended to-day, died this week at Banchory, a victim to the rapid progress of tubercular disease. Though only a few months above sixty, his life was practically over long before the end came. No one had started under fairer auspices. With varied talents and engaging manners, an assured fortune, and early opportunities for the realisation of political success, there was some flaw in his being, which warped growth and frustrated achievement. A native irresolution that suddenly deflected purpose, a want of steadfastness, a susceptibility to unwise promptings, combined to paralyse and finally to destroy the effective elements of his character. He lived to illustrate the cruel persistence of the law of waste.

*May 16th.*—I had luncheon with Lady Northcote, where I met Lady Jersey, Lady Edward Cavendish, the Master of the Temple and his wife, and an officer from the Admiralty, who had been brought by Jellicoe from the North Sea Fleet. Some conversation I had with the last confirmed my belief that the civil departments of the Admiralty are in very weak hands.

*May 19th.*—Council this morning for an Admiralty Order and some multifarious additions to the Defence of the Realm Regulations. The Prime Minister had relieved Curzon from the War Committee for a day, who took the opportunity of going to Montacute for twenty-four hours. Crawford, who took his place, Farquhar, Desart, and F. Ponsonby attended.

*June 6th.*—After a fortnight in the country under doctor's orders, I am back in London with the recollection at least of some of the loveliest early summer days. The resurrection of Nature had never a more poignant message to the human soul.

I saw Ernest Troubridge, who is here on a mission from his

Serbian clients, in the hope of obtaining for them more consideration than Sarrail is disposed to give. He mentioned the efforts the German Emperor had made to detach them from the Allies: he had first offered them peace and restitution on the condition of agreeing to the free navigation of the Danube, and later union with a great Jugo-Slav State to be created within the Austrian Empire, on terms of self-government similar to those enjoyed by Hungary.

*June 8th.*—My daughter returned from Russia after eight months' hospital duty of a very arduous character on the Roumanian front, during which she shared in the retreat from Medjideh and the bombardments of Brailov and Galatz, and went through the severities of a winter on the Lower Danube hardly ever free from shell-fire. Her last ten days in Russia were spent with the Buchanans at the British Embassy. Petrograd had recovered much of its normal appearance, and George Buchanan was able to speak hopefully of the future, resting, it appears, much confidence on the great qualities and influence of Kerensky, who, like Gambetta, is one whose spirit is forged in the furnace of revolution.

*June 13th.*—The full quota of the new Privy Councillors were sworn in to-day, eight in number. Lord Rosebery was summoned to grace the introduction of his son, and, as Derby took Curzon's place, the neophyte had the support of both father and father-in-law. Lord Rosebery seemed pleased at the invitation to be present, and was of course honoured with an audience afterwards. Claud Hamilton was somewhat indignant at being sworn in the same batch as Mr. J. H. Thomas, the railway leader, as in all railway disputes they have generally been the protagonists on either side. I must say that Mr. Thomas did not impress me so favourably as some of his friends on entering the Privy Council.

The Wilfrid Ashleys, Desart, Dufferin, and Mrs. Lawson came to luncheon.

*June 15th.*—Last night I dined at the Inner Temple with Desart; Harcourt, Almeric Paget, and David Murray, R.A., being among the other guests. At dinner Lord Sumner was my neighbour, who is a delightful companion, full of wisdom and humour. In the common room I was taken charge of by Henry Dickens, son of the novelist, whom I had not seen for fifty years! My contentment reached its height in the consumption of some port (1887) as good as I ever tasted. The evening closed in the library with coffee and cigars, where I talked to a miscellaneous collection of Benchers, all very courteous and agreeable. Sir David Murray was again very complimentary on the success of my picture. Sitters he divided into two classes, those who deadened and depressed the power of a painter, and those who animated and inspired him. Of such, he added, were those who

ought always to be at the disposition of artists! It is certainly the case at the present day that the faculties of the painter are fed upon very heavy types.

*June 16th.*—I went to a meeting at Lady Northcote's house in aid of the work of her association for the restoration of the devastated gardens and orchards of France and Belgium. There was a speech from the Speaker and another from Mr. Mackinder. Lady Northcote herself spoke well, with concision and careful phrasing pleasant to hear. Lady Ermyntrude Malet had an extraordinary story of certain occurrences in her house near Bexhill. It appears that late one evening, at a moment when she was ill in bed with a high temperature, her parlour-maid informed her that a man wearing the somewhat dishevelled uniform of a British officer had entered the house, and, after placing himself in command of the telephone, had insisted upon being provided with a room for the night. This Lady Ermyntrude was willing that he should have, though her doubts were excited when the servant returned to tell her that, after the officer had done with the telephone, he had reduced it to a state which precluded its use by any of the household. The following morning the *soi-disant* officer left early, after inditing a letter to his hostess revealing a most remarkable story. He had come, he said, the previous morning from the Front, charged with communications so confidential that he was to deliver them orally as soon as possible. The ship in which he had a passage was deflected from its course by a submarine and pursued into the shoal waters of Pevensey Bay, where he was put ashore in growing darkness. Proeeeding inland, he reached a railway embankment, down which he fell, at the entrance of a tunnel. Threading his way with difficulty therethrough, he emerged near some habitations, and, reaching Lady Ermyntrude's house, had claimed her hospitality and made use of her telephone in order to place the authorities in immediate possession of the information of which he was the bearer.

*June 19th.*—Last night we dined at the Eustace Cecils, where we met the Salisburys, Lady Frances Balfour, Mr. H. Fisher, Sir Donald Wallace, and Mrs. Belloc Lowndes. I was on one side of Lady Salisbury, and thus found the dinner very pleasant. Lord Eustace Cecil's recovery is a remarkable proof of vitality: it is not easy to detect any failure of power since last year, notwithstanding the severe illness through which he has passed.

I saw Admiral Hall at luncheon, who was so interested in Lady Ermyntrude Malet's adventures that he asked me to obtain, if possible, an attested narration of what had taken place, when he promised to have the whole matter sifted to the last.

*June 25th.*—I met Hopwood, who is acting provisionally as Secretary Designate of the Irish Convention, though ready to stand aside if the selection of an English chairman renders an

Irish secretary indispensable. He could not speak with any confidence of good resulting from the scheme, too much time having elapsed since its suggestion. If it were to command the least chance of success, it ought to have been pressed on at fever heat, before public sentiment had been allowed to grow lukewarm. This was prevented by the same timidity and hesitation which has been so lamentably displayed in the general amnesty of the Irish prisoners, when, in spite of what Bonar Law told the House of Commons, the *dossiers* in the Irish Office prove that discrimination was possible, if the Government had only had the courage to announce the crimes which some of them had committed. The feebleness shown here, and in other quarters, he attributes to the attempt of men with no radical bond of union to work together.

*June 28th.*—Council at Buckingham Palace, ostensibly for a Regulation under the Defence of the Realm Act giving the Irish Government more direct powers for the prohibition of processions. Accordingly Duke was present. I had a long conversation with him on the position in Ireland and the chances of some material advantage flowing from the Convention. Without pitching his hopes too high, he augured well for the future from the mere fact of bringing Irishmen of all parties and creeds into one Council-chamber. He did not suppose there was any previous record of the Catholic and Protestant Episcopates with the Presbyterian Moderator meeting on a common political platform. He was not even without some faint feeling that the Sinn Fein movement might ultimately be guided into an innocuous channel. Meanwhile, he assured me, in regard to the release of the prisoners, there were no possible means of discriminating between such as were more or less culpable: de Valera himself, who was Second-in-Command of the rebels, disclaimed any allegiance to the British Crown, and justified his action on the ground that he was an Irish soldier, and as such bound to obey orders—a position, from his point of view, as unanswerable as Charles I's plea that the Court before which he appeared had no power to try him.

Patience, and a desire to detach Irish politics from the bitter inheritance of the past, were in his opinion the only methods offering the chance of a pacific solution. Carson declares Birrell was a Cromwell compared with Duke!

Stamfordham told me the King was going further in the direction of severing the Royal House from all nominal connection with Germany by giving to it a distinctively English name, which it was proposed should be "Windsor." I entirely agreed that the way to do it was by Proclamation.

I dined last night with Lady Jersey, and met Lady Waldegrave, the Dynevors, Sir J. Hanbury Williams and wife, Lady Northcote, Lord Moulton, and Frank Dicksee. Lord Moulton

told me the supply of explosives had now reached such a tremendous volume that the army in the field had on their hands ever so many more than they knew what to do with!

This afternoon I saw Francis Elliot, who has just returned from Athens, where Jonnart's position as the plenipotentiary of both England and France left him nothing to do. Three years of anxiety had left no uncertain mark upon his appearance. He said that neither he nor Jonnart attached the importance to the new King's allocution which it seemed to carry here, and in his view the "glorious reign" of his father was intended to refer to the laurels gained in war with the Bulgarians, and to that extent language which a patriotic Greek might well use. He feared that Venezelos, by returning to Athens so soon, was running some risk of assassination, as there was great bitterness against him in certain subaltern channels of Greek politics. Otherwise, he thought the position well assured and holding security for the future. He spent a day at Rome *en route*, and learnt that the Italians fully expected to be in Trieste before this year's campaign closed.

*July 2nd.*—As the King and Queen are both going to France to-morrow, we had a Council in the evening for Hayes Fisher's appointment and some changes in the contraband arrangements. Before the Council I called in Carlton House Terrace to have a few words with Curzon on the King's intention to take the name of "Windsor." Later, in conversation with Stamfordham, it was settled that the submission of the Proclamation should be preceded with a Declaration in Council notifying His Majesty's intention.

*July 11th.*—We dined with a small party at the Haldanes': present, Lady Leconfield, the Gleichens, and General Haldane, now in command of a corps in Flanders. He had taken part in the battle of Messines, just before which the front held along the enemy's position was occupied by 60,000 British troops concentrated in the most extraordinary network of subterranean galleries which the war has yet produced. The tension became extreme as the moment for the attack approached, for, if the Germans had been minded to anticipate it by a few hours, the British force might conceivably have been sealed up in its dugouts.

*July 12th.*—The King's intention to give his house and family a name has caused me a good deal of anxiety, due largely to the impotence of Garter to give any help in matters falling strictly within his own province. He came down to my room to meet Stamfordham strong in the conviction that the proper style of the descendants of the Prince Consort included the location of their titles in the Kingdom of Saxony. Happily he abandons his positions as hastily as he formulates them, and raised no objections to the disappearance of the words when, after a con-

ference with the Lord Chancellor and Schuster, I was able to demonstrate their absurdity. In the final form of the Declaration in Council and of the Proclamation it was decided to drop all circumlocution and make it plain that they were German titles which were the objects of renunciation.

*July 17th.*—The important Council was held to-day. By the King's direction a representative gathering was summoned, including the Duke of Connaught, the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Lord Chancellor, the Prime Minister, the three ex-Prime Ministers, Lord Rosebery, Mr. Asquith, and Mr. Balfour, Mr. Barnes representing Labour, and General Smuts, Messrs. Fisher and Schreiner the Dominions beyond the seas.

The Declaration I had drawn up was in these terms :

" My Lords, I think proper to declare and ordain that from this day forth the name of ' Windsor ' shall be borne by my Royal House and Family, and to the same end I renounce and relinquish for Myself and my descendants the Foreign Titles and Arms of Duke of Saxony and Prince of Saxe-Coburg and Gotha, and in behalf of all descendants of Her late Majesty Queen Victoria, who are subjects of these realms, any German Dignities, Titles, Honours, or Appellations to them heretofore belonging, for the due promulgation whereof I hereby signify the intent to issue my Royal Proclamation."

I saw the King before the Council and took his pleasure as to reading the Proclamation in recognition of its special character. His Majesty further told me that at that point, before the resumption of ordinary business, he had a second communication to make to the Council.

It was a little unfortunate that neither Arthur Balfour nor Asquith obeyed the summons ; the first, as it appeared, because his Private Secretary, treating it as " a scrap of paper," had taken no trouble to bring it to his notice ; the second, because he thought it of no particular importance : an oversight for which, it is fair to say, he afterwards made humble apology. Lord Rosebery, on the other hand, took special pains to be present.

*July 19th.*—Lord Rhondda was at last sworn as Food Controller. I told him the fact would not be gazetted, as some cantankerous critic might then be moved to challenge the validity of every order issued since he assumed office. His explanation of the delay is that he took the position under certain specific engagements, none of which had so far been ratified. That morning, however, certain concessions had been made which in his view constituted a sufficient pledge of something further to come. I told him his experience was by no means singular, as in these days the favourite method of liquidating obligations lay in promises to pay, and that there was no more conspicuous practitioner in these methods than an illustrious friend of his

in a very great position. He said, with a laugh, he would not talk about that, wherein he showed his discretion.

I had an interview with Sir Eric Geddes to go through to-morrow's ceremony, when he is to take the oaths as Privy Councillor and First Lord of the Admiralty. Of square build and determined jaw, he looked the picture of broad views and energetic resolve, while an easy and genial address added life to his personality.

*July 20th.*—Council this morning at Buckingham Palace for the installation of the new Ministers. Winston Churchill arrived in the highest feather, entirely careless of press denunciation. He was very cordially received by Curzon. Sir E. Geddes confirmed the very favourable impression I had already formed of him. He gave me some details illustrating the rapidity of railway construction at the Front. In only five hours after the capture of the Vimy and Messines Ridges, light railways on the two-foot gauge had been extended to the erest of each. He was still, he said, a Major-General on Haig's Staff, though he believed his appointment as Vice-Admiral had lapsed with the surrender of the Controllership.

*July 22nd.*—We went down to White Lodge between six and seven, and stayed to dinner, Horace Farquhar sending us back with some others about eleven. Queen Alexandra and her daughters were present, but within a short time they returned to London. Among others disappearing before dinner was Lady de Trafford, which evoked my deep regret. Upon her poignant and persuasive beauty time has hardly cast a shadow; indeed, it has sweetened and refined a countenance that always bore an extraordinary charm. After she was gone I had a long talk with Lady Londonderry, who poured upon me and Edward Wallington a flood of eloquence which testified to the range of her interests and the incisive turn she gives to her opinions. It is a pity, however, that anyone with the experience she has had, and the mental powers she no doubt possesses, should confine so large a part of her estimate of men and event to the channel of unrelieved criticism. The others at dinner were the Duchess of Abercorn and Lady Cynthia, Lady Sophie Scott, Lord Chaplin, Sir W. Garstin, and one or two young men. Dear old Lord Chaplin is a wonderful example of exquisite urbanity, one of the last of a vanished age, upon the reminiscences of which he still discourses very charmingly. An intelligent young man in the Irish Guards, who was sitting next me, described very vividly the keen pleasure he derived from killing Germans with a machine-gun. No sport he had ever enjoyed was equal to it, and this he declared quite seriously.

*July 23rd.*—We dined with the Forsters and met Mrs. Pitt-Rivers, Sir Ernly Blackwell, and the daughter of the house,

George Pitt-Rivers's wife, who looked charming in the rôle of the young matron. Blackwell told me the alarm yesterday morning was caused through a misinterpretation of their instructions by the Fire Brigade authorities, who read "Prepare for action" as "Proceed to action," thereby frightening many good people, old and young, out of their lives. Several were seen in night-dresses and slipperless, making for the Tube stations!

*August 2nd.*—I am told the true story of Henderson's unfortunate visit to Paris turns upon the incorrigible carelessness of those responsible for the Prime Minister's correspondence. Henderson's letter acquainting him with his plans was tossed aside as if it were a matter of no importance, and Henderson, after three days without a reply, presumed there was no objection and proceeded on his journey. Then came Bonar Law's candour in proclaiming that the Government knew nothing till it was too late to take action. It would have been so easy to wrap up his case in vague hints that there were reasons he could not divulge for Henderson's attending the Conference, and, if he had taken that line, public curiosity would have been appeased.

It appears that the "Ariadne," a cruiser of 11,000 tons, sank in broad daylight on a lovely afternoon within three miles of Eastbourne. She had been crippled by a first attack, and was proceeding to Portsmouth under her own steam, when she was overtaken by a second torpedo which gave her the *coup de grâce*, though, after settling upon her beam end, she remained afloat for more than an hour before she disappeared. In spite of the publicity attaching to the event, the authorities sought to maintain secrecy upon what had occurred.

*August 18th.*—The menace of a railway strike had to be met by a Council hastily summoned to Windsor for a Proclamation applying certain provisions of the Munitions Act to the situation. Crawford and I left London at 11.15, and picked up Maurice de Bunsen at Slough, Stamfordham making the third. Crawford is a most agreeable companion, as, apart from his great fund of expert knowledge, his general outlook is most pleasantly flavoured by his humanistic studies. He gave me some very curious facts as to the wholesale manufacture of early Italian paintings, in order to meet the demand for such works. A Botticelli acquired for the National Gallery by Poynter, was, upon examination, found to be on wood, which was from a tree indigenous in America and not imported into Europe before the middle of the nineteenth century. Enquiry relating to a series of pictures attributed to the same artist, which had been under suspicion, established the fact that they were all of recent execution by a very competent hand. Another artist was given £50 to produce a "Desiderio da Settingnano," which, after probably changing hands many times, reached the American buyer at the figure of £5,000.

The restrictions on railway travelling are, Crawford told me, largely due to French's obstinate adherence to the belief that an invasion of this country is a risk that has still to be considered. In the result there are large accumulations of rolling-stock at all the important junctions designed for use in the event of any considerable movement by troops to the coast. He agreed that no wilder hypothesis could be entertained at this period of the war, but it still prevailed to swell the apprehensions of the Home Command and add to the embarrassment of the nation.

*August 22nd.*—A Council was held in London this morning, the King coming up on purpose for it, and a small investiture. The roll of Councils I have attended in nineteen years now reaches 300 ; there have been five more at which I failed to be present, four on the score of health : no bad record for the years of life from forty-six to sixty-five. Curzon, Sandhurst, Newton, and Sir A. Stanley attended, and Mr. Roberts, the new Minister of Labour, was sworn a Privy Councillor and took the oath of office before the Council. Sir A. Stanley had a long audience with the King, who was anxious to learn all he could about the threatened railway strike, which has now been abandoned, thanks largely to Stanley's skill and courage in handling a very difficult situation. Sir Albert told me that at the bottom of the movement lay a serious apprehension on the part of the employees that peace might be followed by a loss of all the advantages they have gained during the war, and a conviction that they must do their utmost to secure their position before peace came. Bromley, whom he described as a shifty fellow and professed pacifist, much under the influence of Ramsay MacDonald, had obtained his influence by exploiting their wants, and believed that the Government would in the last resort resign themselves to the inevitable. Any weakness, however, in dealing with the demand would, in Sir Albert's opinion, have been fatal ; and it was on this ground that he had insisted upon the Board of Trade being armed with the powers conferred by last Saturday's Proclamation : the malcontents professed to regard it as a provocative act, but they were forced to admit that it was the necessary reply to their ultimatum—the intimation of their resolve to strike in twenty-four hours. Sir Albert spoke very highly of Mr. Roberts, the new Minister of Labour, who had been Secretary of the Board of Trade during the whole period of his Presidency. He confirmed the impression I gathered from a conversation with him yesterday upon the proceedings at the Labour Conference, that he was a remarkably straight and fair-minded man. This was also the view of both Hodge and A. Geddes, the new Director of National Service, who came to the Office at 6 p.m. to be sworn in connection with their new posts. Neither of them spoke with any great respect for the operations of the Ministry of National Service,

which appears to have achieved little beyond the expenditure of a large sum of money. The original idea of combining in the new Ministry a variety of functions now exercised by different departments had been given up, but the Ministry was maintained for purely spectacular objects. Geddes did not blame Neville Chamberlain, whose position he tersely described in the words: "He was asked to use a department which did not exist to solve a problem which had never been stated."

It was amusing to hear Hodge speak in praise of Willie Bridgeman, the Parliamentary Secretary of his late department: "a gem," he called him, and repeated the expression in describing Mrs. Hodge's appreciation of him after he had paid them a visit about tea-time at their house in Blackheath.

*August 30th.*—My son was married at St. Peter's, Eaton Square, and we had a luncheon-party of seventeen before the ceremony. A son's marriage is like an order of "Quick march" toward the parent's exit. He is now twenty-eight, seven years younger than I was at the date of a similar enterprise, now thirty years ago. I can only hope his wife may prove as good to him as his mother has been to me.

*September 1st.*—I attended the service at Westminster Abbey in memory of Albert Grey. Few men have deserved better of their generation in those permanent interests that mould the story of nations. He had the graces of character in a very high degree, and withal an engaging enthusiasm which gave force to that which he did and confidence to those he directed. A vital mind was lit by a generous temper and guided by a warm heart. A courageous belief in men lay at the root of his appeal to their best instincts, and he was able to get them to do more and display a finer trust in the reconciling virtues of combination than most of his contemporaries. The most conspicuous part of his life's work lay in South Africa and Canada, but the record of his unobtrusive activities covered no small range in the concerns of his native land. Not many have been loved so much or followed so readily.

There is no theatre for the consecration of memory like the Abbey Church of Westminster. As the pageant of grief sweeps through its aisles, the very dust it embalms seems to stir with the emotions of the living.

*September 14th.*—I dined with Lady Jersey last night, and met the American Ambassador and Mrs. Page, the Granvilles and Schreiners, Dynevor acting as host. Mrs. Page was eloquent on the change that had come over opinion in the United States, where all tended to stiffen resolve and confirm purpose. The economic and military pressure to be exerted in the next six months would prove a factor of incalculable significance in bringing the war to an end. I was very much pleased with Lady Granville,

whom I had only once met a long time ago. She is full of intelligence, and has made much of the years spent in Berlin and Paris towards the perfecting of judgment and formation of character. I know no couple in the younger ranks of the Diplomatic Service so well equipped to reach the highest walks of the profession.

*September 21st.*—Asquith has just returned from a six days' tour along the whole of the British Front. His estimate of the future is coloured with a sober optimism. Horne, he understands, is the best of the generals at Haig's disposal; Gough has fallen off in military estimation, while Plumer's credit has been enhanced.

*September 24th.*—A curious story from the field of battle came to my knowledge this morning. A Frenchwoman heard from a surgeon attached to a hospital at the Front that her husband was under his care desperately wounded. She hurried to the place, only to be met by the surgeon with the announcement that her husband was dead. He urged her at the same time not to look upon his face, which was horribly mutilated. He gave her a letter found upon the deceased, and after the funeral she returned home with his clothes and personal belongings. Three weeks later she was thunderstruck by receiving a letter from the husband summoning her to the South of France, where he was in hospital. There she found him slowly recovering from the effects of severe wounds. To her eager enquiry whether he could give any explanation of the extraordinary error of which she had been the dupe, he said he had the key. It then appeared that, while lying wounded, a German officer stripped him of his clothing, which he proceeded to put on, and was about to move off when the wounded man, invoking his last reserves of strength, possessed himself of his revolver which was lying by his side, and fired point-blank at the other's face. So mutilated, no discovery of his identity was possible, and it was naturally supposed that he was the person whom his clothing indicated. Their real owner was for weeks unable to give any account of himself, and thus his wife had no choice but to believe in his death.

*September 29th.*—The Proclamation applying the most rigid restrictions to trade with Holland and the Scandinavian Powers was signed to-day, and will be issued early next week. Substantially it pledges this country to the same policy which has been announced in the United States, and will leave the States affected with little or no margin from which supplies to Germany can be furnished. Curzon, Carnock, M. de Bunsen, and F. Ponsonby were present.

*October 3rd.*—It now appears that yesterday's threatened air-raid was the outcome of a most ridiculous blunder—one, too, that stands unconfessed and unredeemed. The War Cabinet was meeting in the afternoon to consider the further policy to be pursued in

connection with these raids, and had summoned to their assistance the greatest practical expert from his station on the Thames Estuary. In order to arrive with the utmost expedition, he had recourse to a seaplane, which, coming up the river, was greeted with a violent barrage from all the aircraft guns along its course, a message being at the same time sped to London that the enemy was approaching. The expert had no choice but to descend and make his way to the shore in a small boat: then, for nearly two hours, during which the course of public business was paralysed at the moment of greatest pressure, London was kept in ignorance of the hoax, a shamefaced admission of "All clear" appearing about two o'clock.

*October 5th.*—I saw Francis Hopwood this afternoon, who gave me an encouraging account of the Irish Convention. So far as he saw, its proceedings had exceeded the most sanguine anticipations, and it had already put on record conclusions of the utmost value to the desired end. It must, however, take another two or three months to bear solid fruit, and the longer it takes the more likely it was to achieve permanent results. The only danger he saw ahead was the maladroitness of Dublin Castle, whose special business it seemed to be to manufacture Sinn Feiners.

Lord Falkland met me on the Parade Ground, and I took the opportunity of giving him all the sympathy I could express on the death of his son, a very promising officer, at sea. It appears that there is some obscurity about the circumstances in which the submarine he commanded was lost. She was cruising in company with a flotilla of the same craft on a very stormy night in the North Sea: the only survivor describes Cary as standing on the bridge when the vessel went down, with all his heavy weather clothing, which would have rendered it impossible for him to keep himself afloat in such a sea. It is supposed that some German craft may have approached, or were believed to have done so, and in the confusion of such a night, it not being easy to distinguish friend from foe, Cary's ship may have been struck by one of her consorts.

*October 16th.*—The proceedings of the Irish Convention are at this moment not looking at all favourable, largely because the Government will not deliver themselves in unmistakable terms on the aims of Sinn Fein. It is not believed that the movement has any deep roots, and a direct announcement that its avowed object could never be conceded would make for a return to sanity among a large section of the adherents of the movement. In the absence of any such declaration Redmond may convince himself that he can only compete with Sinn Fein by attacks upon the Government, whereas no one knows better that his only chance of political salvation lies in the support of those sections of the community which have hitherto been Unionist.

*November 5th.*—I heard from Stamfordham yesterday that the Prime Minister, on leaving for Italy, had left in Bonar Law's hands a recommendation, made, it appears, at the instance of the Attorney-General, that Darling should be made a Privy Councillor, in order to take the place of the Lord Chief Justice at the nomination of Sheriffs this day week. The King, he said, was disinclined to comply, as the reason seemed inadequate and he was reluctant to add unnecessarily to the numbers of the Privy Council. I had already provided for the difficulty by arranging with Crawford to attend the nomination, for which the presence of another Privy Councillor besides the Chancellor of the Exchequer was requisite, so that I had no hesitation in assuring Stamfordham that His Majesty was free to dismiss the submissions if he thought fit, which was accordingly done. Subsequently I had a letter from Bonar Law's Private Secretary, begging me to acquit them of all responsibility, which I was very glad to do. The fault lay, as I said, with the Prime Minister's staff, which had a perfect genius for going wrong. "They may," I added, "for aught I know, fail to do their own work well, but certainly they do other people's very badly."

*November 12th.*—The Nomination of Sheriffs passed off without a hitch. The Chancellor of the Exchequer came with a very brief interval straight from the War Cabinet, and Crawford had luncheon on the spot with Darling, who showed no sign of annoyance at not having received a Privy Councillorship, which he no doubt thoroughly deserves, but not on the ground preferred in the submission.

This being my sixty-sixth birthday, we had a few people to dinner: the Hyltons, Forsters, George Peel, and Lady Agnes and Colum Stuart. A very pleasant evening, reminiscent of some such in the past, but shadowed with the causes of much public misgiving, distress of nations, and perplexity. However, in these sequestered intervals with the presence of the right people, life sees some hope of recovery.

*November 13th.*—I had luncheon at St. James's Square and sat between Lady Wemyss and Mrs. Lionel Guest. Lady Wemyss (*née* Morier), whom I had not seen for fifteen years, talked with great asperity of English diplomacy, which perhaps, as Sir Robert Morier's daughter, she was better qualified to do than most. She seemed to me, however, unjust to George Buchanan, whom she blamed for the trust he reposed in the Cadet Party as capable of drawing Russia out of her difficultics after the Imperial dynasty had disappeared. It scems to me, however, that he had little choice, and clung to them as a drowning man might to a straw. They held the reins of what power there was and the material for a military dictatorship, which presented the only alternative, was absent. However, these questions are too

obscure for a luncheon-table discussion on any scale that aims at finality.

Mrs. Guest, who seemed a nice type of American, told me that Colonel and Mrs. House came away from their reception at Buckingham Palace in a spirit of intense satisfaction. They had luncheon almost alone with the King and Queen, and were delighted with the homeliness of the atmosphere and the total lack of any stiffness on the part of their host and hostess. This is of value, as House has an immense influence with the President.

A distinguished journalist told me that Colonel House had said, in conversation with him: "Italy has had a knock-out blow, France may go near having such another: it will then be for England and the United States to finish the war. So let it be!"

*November 17th.*—Lord Northcliffe's arrogant intimation to the Prime Minister, which was almost in the form of an ultimatum that, unless he purged his Administration of certain undesirable elements, he could no longer count upon *his* support, is followed this morning by a communication from Lord Cowdray, disclosing the awkward fact that he knew nothing of the intention to remove him from the control of the Air Ministry until he read in the newspapers Lord Northcliffe's refusal to take the direction of the Ministry under the new Bill. That Bill is in substance the tardy attempt to fulfil the pledge given to Lord Cowdray on accepting his office. Lloyd George, he says, when he took up the position he is now resigning, explained that the status of the new Air Ministry would be equal to that of the Admiralty and the War Office. To the truth of this I can testify, as, when Lord Cowdray was in my room at the date of his appointment, he repeated to me that pledge given by the Prime Minister.

*November 20th.*—The Prime Minister's speech happily dispelled the sinister rumours that had gathered round his Paris utterance condensing upon a statement most industriously circulated that he was the promoter, or at best the tool, of an intrigue to replace Sir W. Robertson by H. Wilson. There are persons in both political camps with whom ancient rancours never die out, and these are represented in the Press. Even those with some sense of fairness are apt to forget that, in using a formidable instrument like Lloyd George, his dynamic properties and fiery resolves cannot be liberated without corresponding defects, a tendency to over-emphasis and excess. It is admitted, even by his worst enemies, that for the present he is irreplaceable, and, that being so, it seems to be the duty of every patriotic citizen to keep him, if possible, on a pedestal instead of losing no opportunity to roll him in the mud.

He had, perhaps, cause to thank his enemies for presenting him with the occasion to rout them effectually. He is a difficult man to corner, especially in the House of Commons, which he

knows with the instinct of an old *virtuoso* for his favourite instrument. Last night he reaped the reward of sheer parliamentary talent.

*November 22nd.*—Yesterday evening, at Lady Jersey's request, I went to Mrs. Leverton Harris's house in Grosvenor Street, where she was entertaining at tea a section of the United States Mission, with a view to the friendly interchange of opinion between them and a section of English Society. The American Ambassador and Mrs. Page were of course there, and some of the Anglo-American Colony. I was presented to General Bliss, who, in the course of a short conversation, struck me as one with a very clear insight into the situation, altogether a forceful and adroit personality. He had been very favourably impressed by Lloyd George's modest and at the same time effective handling of the Conference at Downing Street on the previous day.

*November 30th.*—I received the following letter from Morant relating to the line I had taken in connection with a scheme for the grant of a Charter of Incorporation to the Institute of Nurses :

"National Health Insurance Commission (England),
"Buckingham Gate, London, S.W.1,
"*November 29th*, 1917.

"Dear FitzRoy,

"I am afraid that I never wrote to thank you for the very useful copy of the emendations you so wisely insisted on for the then proposed Charter for the Nurses.

"I think, if I may say so, that your emendations in the Charter hit just the right nails on the head, and your action has, in my view, been justified and its rightness vindicated in the most striking way possible by the subsequent events. I am sure it has been wholly in the true interests of the Nursing Profession that the proposals that were to be considered in regard to the Charter have since been withdrawn. I don't know what your view may be as to Arthur Stanley's schemes in respect of the Nursing College and the fund that he is endeavouring to get up. For myself, I cannot think it is the proper way to establish the Nursing Profession on a proper basis ; I don't believe in such amateur proposals for solving what is a highly complex professional problem, with a long history behind it.

"It was fortunate for the Nursing Profession that you saw what you did see, and did what you did do, in regard to the suggestions for amending the Charter, so that the issues really involved became clear. You rendered a great service.

"Sincerely yours,
"Robert L. Morant."

*December 3rd.*—The condition of Petrograd is very grave : my daughter had a letter from Miss Buchanan dated November

10th, between the lines of which might be read the deep anxiety for the future occupying the minds of the British Embassy. She wrote at the moment when the slaughter of the Women's Regiment and defence of the Winter Palace had just occurred. Obviously they cannot tell what an hour may bring forth, and it is impossible to put on one side the most sombre forebodings. I talked to Eyre Crowe on the subject, who did not seek to disguise the peril with which they were surrounded.

*December 10th.*—I was talking to Hall at luncheon, who rather surprised me by saying that the Foreign Office, from the Secretary of State downwards, are becoming half-hearted in the prosecution of the war. On the submarine question he was very consoling. Germany, they knew from a statement made in secret session of the Reichstag, has reached the limit of her output, and at the present moment it is almost equalled by her losses. As our resources to that end are every week increasing in number and efficiency, it was a matter of mathematical calculation how soon the menace would enter the stage of progressive reduction.

I dined with Lady Stucley, and had a very pleasant evening. Young Lady Amory was staying with her; the Leitrims, Edward Wood and Lady Dorothy came to dinner. I was struck, however, with a tone of some exasperation towards Ireland, which seemed to bode ill for the success of the Convention.

*December 18th.*—Hylton had a dinner last night at the Travellers', after the first day's debate in the House of Lords on the Representation of the People Bill. We were eleven in all—Lord Chaplin was the guest of the evening, and Allendale, Lucan, Peel, Elphinstone, Valentia, Stuart of Wortley, Henry Denison, and Edward Alderson completed the party. The viands and wine did justice to the Club's reputation even on the present basis of war necessities, and no one was better pleased than Lord Chaplin. I had a long talk with him after dinner, and I am bound to say there was much in his criticism of Rhondda and Prothero's food policy with which it was difficult to disagree. The adjustment of means to ends had left some deplorable lacunæ in production, with the result that unexpected consequences had to be hastily met by improvised expedients.

*December 20th.*—Lord Rothermere came to see me this morning in preparation for his being sworn in to-morrow. He told me his department was to be installed at the British Museum, and incidentally had much to say on the swollen staff he had found at the Hotel Cecil, where 4,000 men and women were engaged, including 600 commissioned officers! This last he thought the biggest scandal, and was resolved to apply drastic remedies to such a misappropriation of military material. He was told, though he had no wish nor time to follow up the charge, that this was largely due to the prevalence fifteen months ago of

" petticoat influence," which was directed with success to obtaining soft jobs for men who should have been at the Front, or on some form of active service. There were, he added, only four trained civil servants in direction of this huge staff, and the head of them, Sir Paul Harvey, a very competent man, had been suddenly struck down with perforation following upon an internal ulcer and was now lying at death's door. He gave me another fact which struck one with a grave sense of disproportion—the air service at home numbers 160,000 men to maintain about 1,100 at the Front. He was not encouraging in his estimate of the duration of the war, which he believed had still fifteen months to run. The weight of the United States, enormous as it was, could not be felt on a decisive scale within that time, and there was always the chance of Italy or France, perhaps both, being overtaken with exhaustion, which he thought they would reach before the extreme point was touched by Germany.

He was also inclined to a jeremiad on the financial and industrial crisis inevitable on the conclusion of peace, with the prodigious want which would then be felt and the meagre means of satisfying it owing to the enormous waste of four years' war in men and material, not to speak of falling exchanges and paralysis invading so many branches of industry.

*December 22nd.*—Council at Buckingham Palace for various objects, including the establishment of the reorganised Air Department. Curzon, Farquhar, F. Ponsonby, and Pretyman were present, and Lord Rothermere, Sir Charles Darling, and Sir Auckland Geddes were sworn in. The last came in a cutaway coat and had to exchange garments with the Groom-in-Waiting; the other two also had frock-coats which did not belong to them, Darling wearing Edward Ridley's and Lord Rothermere having drawn upon the resources of one of his brothers.

I had a talk with Stamfordham as to his possession of any knowledge that would be useful to the Deprivation of Titles Committee, but he could offer nothing, except information from Princess Christian to the effect that Prince Albert, throughout the war, had been employed in Red Cross work at Berlin.

*December 28th.*—Lord Rothermere's ideas on air reprisals are not lacking in force or comprehensiveness: he is satisfied that no adequate effect will be produced in Germany unless the thing is done on a scale which, in point of thoroughness and terror, has not hitherto been dreamed of. His intention is, for every raid upon London, absolutely to wipe out one or two large German towns, either on the Rhine or in its affluent valleys. Frankfort itself does not lie beyond the bourne of his imaginings. For this purpose he contemplates the possibility of an attack in three divisions comprising each from 100 to 150 aeroplanes and carrying bombs enough to lay the place attacked level with the ground

in the course of a few hours. In favourable circumstances a sufficient number of machines may be at his disposal by the month of June. It is estimated that, among a people ravaged by hunger and despair, the panic will be instantaneous and complete.

## 1918

*January 2nd.*—The King came up from Sandringham for an investiture, so the opportunity was taken for a Council; Lord Rothermere was sworn a Secretary of State (Walter Long lending his seals for the purpose) and the finishing touches given to the new Air Force Ministry, which enters upon its being to-morrow. Crawford took Curzon's place, and Sandhurst and M. de Bunsen completed the tale. There was some interesting talk, while we were waiting, on the effect of a large bomb on such buildings as the British Museum. Lord Rothermere's estimate put no limit to the probable devastation, and it was on that account he thought the removal of everything portable ought not to be postponed. Crawford, on the other hand, said there were neither cases nor packers procurable, and removal on any scale was therefore a physical impossibility.

*January 16th.*—Arrangements were made for another Council to-day, with certain important objects, at which the new Privy Councillors were sworn. Hugh Cecil and Sir H. Norman appeared in khaki. As Curzon could not attend, I settled with Stamfordham that Newton, whom I thought the King would like to see after his negotiations with the Turks, should take the Lord President's place, which he did to complete satisfaction. Horace Farquhar, Colebrooke, and M. de Bunsen were also present. The six went through the ceremony with dignity; Mr. Richards, the Labour representative, was another attractive personality, and in that respect compared very favourably with one or two of the others. The case of a third Cecil brother becoming a member of the Privy Council created a situation which has only once been paralleled in the history of any family, viz. in the last generation of the Peels: an instance in the previous generation of the same family was not complete, as General Peel was not sworn in for three years after Sir Robert's death.

*January 18th.*—I met George Buchanan at the top of the Duke of York's steps and walked with him to the Foreign Office. At his approach I was in doubt for a moment as to his identity; his face seemed so changed. He had only arrived in London this morning, and bore every sign of having gone through an awful period of anxiety and suspense. The twelve days occupied in the journey had been, he said, the first cessation of strain for more than four years, and he could not thank the Admiralty too much for the kindness and consideration he and his family

met with on the cruiser that conveyed them home. He had two warnings from different quarters before he started, one that his liberty and another that his life was threatened; in the latter case the man told off for his assassination was mentioned. The Finns, too, he feared might make themselves unpleasant, as they fancied themselves aggrieved by something he had said or done, and it was not till they reached Sweden he felt secure.

On the situation in Russia he spoke with extreme despondency, and was evidently smarting under a bitter sense of disappointed hopes and the total downfall of the scheme of policy for which he had stood and had laboured to the last. The poverty of Russia in higher statesmanship passed all belief. Stolypin was the only man who might have weathered the storm, but with his murder the rot set in, and the Emperor, with no foresight or initiative, was driven about like a rudderless ship in a stormy sea. The spread of anarchical doctrine was so universal that few had the courage or inclination to withstand it. Never in history had a proud dynasty collapsed so suddenly and a great country reached such a pitch of bankruptcy in the sphere of direction. The whole community was a prey to the tyrannies of violence and cupidity. In some drastic disciplinary process can lie the only hope of the people; but the evil seems too vast in extent and too incoherent in character for the application of any remedy.

I could only console him with the reflection that his record was clear and straight: there were movements in human society too cyclonic for treatment or control, and it was only after the subsidence of the convulsion that the struggles of those who sought to avert it could fall into their true relief and win their ultimate vindication.

*January 19th.*—I had another talk with Buchanan this afternoon. According to him, the factor in the Russian situation, which there is no getting over, is the war weariness universally felt; he had tried, but with no great success, to make the other Powers realise this. It was too late to buttress Russia's tottering strength; the only thing that might have arrested separate negotiations was some statement on the part of the Allies indicating a reduction of the terms upon which they were prepared to make peace. He again dwelt upon the utter lack of leadership in the more reputable section of Russian society. The Provisional Government was without insight or imagination; even its prominent members allowed short-sighted personal views to usurp the place of public interests, and not one of them took a single step that impressed the national consciousness. Opinion in Russia is slow to create and never easy to determine, but Prince Lvow and his colleagues, and later Kerensky, were fumbling for a policy they could neither discover nor inspire. Trotsky is an able man, but a bitter foe of England. Apart from private

grudges arising out of his detention in America, he believed her to be the most formidable opponent of Bolshevik dreams, the strongest citadel, in fact, of the hated " bourgeois " influence.

*February 4th.*—The situation in the Irish Convention shows that, crossed by fluctuations of feeling, hopes of a favourable result, not considerable at the outset, have grown progressively. With one or two exceptions, and an ambiguity in the attitude of one section, to be mentioned later, there is nothing but praise for the spirit which has animated all parties, reserving the highest eulogies for the Southern Unionists and the great bulk of the Nationalists. Among the latter Stephen Gwynn is the most useful and untiring in his efforts towards conciliation. The disappointing features in the deliberations are the set-backs which occur during the Friday to Monday adjournments. Over and over again an agreement which was practically assured on Friday seemed unattainable on the return to the Council Board of persons who had yielded to pressure in the interval. The personal cordiality and general harmony prevailing is a conspicuous element in the causes working for success, and has made the sittings of the Convention a very pleasant business, no doubt attributable to the courtesy instinctive in the Irish people. The only dissident note lies in the silence of the Ulster contingent, whose blunt manners are not deliberate but constitutional. Indifference to anything but their own sectional and local ambitions has always been the *mot d'ordre* of their action, and in this case blindness to the interests of Unionists in the rest of Ireland almost reaches the proportions of a betrayal.

*February 5th.*—A Council at 10.15 for the prorogation of Parliament, which is expected to-morrow. Curzon, Sandhurst, and F. Ponsonby alone attended, Bonar Law crying off on the score of press of work. The King's Speech being largely Curzon's own, its formal approval did not require the presence of any other members of the War Cabinet.

*February 19th.*—The latest ebullition of old resentments against the Prime Minister fizzled out yesterday more completely than on any previous occasion, and for once Asquith failed to seize the note of the change and sought to persevere on a line of which the House of Commons had had enough; and yet there were people so credulous as to think the game was up. Gully said to me ominously that L. G. stock was never so low; to which I replied that, like all speculative stock, it rose and fell, and to-morrow might be higher than ever; and so it proved.

I met Wilson and Rawlinson at the Travellers' and gave the first my cordial congratulations, who, pointing to Rawlinson, said, " He has been shunted too." I looked at both for explanation, when Wilson proceeded that Rawlinson was his successor at Versailles. I expressed my pleasure to Rawlinson, adding that

it was a position requiring a man of more suppleness than was perhaps usual in men of British race, whereupon Wilson grasped my arm and asked what I meant by the term, when I replied that of course it was used in its most complimentary sense, as indeed it was; but the interruption, for all its perfect good-humour, was not without significance. At an earlier period of the war, when Asquith as Prime Minister was visiting the Front, he took occasion, while at dinner, to say to Wilson that, so far, the war had not produced any great soldiers. "No," he said, "we have no Wellington, nor, moreover, has any Chatham appeared!"

Euston, Charlie Fitzwilliam, and Mrs. Cordeaux dined with us. A pleasant evening.

*February 25th.*—The feeling is becoming strong that proprietors of newspapers, on taking office, should sever connection with their journals, just as directors of companies are called upon to do in respect of such bodies. Curzon, I believe, entertains strong views on the point.

A grave situation has been created by the action of Lord Beaverbrook, with his present functions as Director of Propaganda in Allied Countries, in seeking to usurp the control of the "intelligence" of every Department of State. The Admiralty and Foreign Office are particularly indignant: Geddes and Wemyss have gone so far as to threaten resignation if the scheme is persisted in.

*March 2nd.*—We dined with the Farquhars in Grosvenor Square and met the Cokes, Derek Keppel and his wife, Sir W. Pulteney and Lady Pulteney, and Sir S. Scott. Lady Farquhar's recovery is wonderful, seeing that she was at death's door a few months ago.

*March 4th.*—At the Council to-day the King pricked the Sheriffs, now the twentieth time I have assisted at that ceremony. Lord Beaverbrook attended to be sworn of the Privy Council, and afterwards kissed hands and took the oath of office on receiving the seals of the Duchy of Lancaster. I had seen him a day or two ago, and was more favourably affected than I was led to expect. His plainness is redeemed by a pleasant smile, and in figure and countenance he suggests a somewhat rough replica of Winston Churchill.

*March 6th.*—I met Wilfrid Ashley on his return from having luncheon with the Prime Minister, whom he had sought to enlighten upon his views of the situation in Ireland. If promises could satisfy, there was nothing Lloyd George was not ready to do, and they parted the best of friends. A letter I had from Desart a few days ago was gloomy enough. "The state of things in the west," he said, "is astounding. There is no law, and daily outrages. Incidentally, I fear it will be fatal to the Convention; but, apart from that, it is really appalling." This, of course, was

written before the death of Redmond, a great loss to Ireland and the Empire, and an event which, superficially viewed, might seem to have a disastrous significance. No doubt he laboured strenuously for pacification, but in this case the good he has done may not be interred with his bones, and may yet live to consecrate his memory. At any rate, Duke has had the courage of his conviction, that what was wanted at this juncture was self-restraint. It was not the fruit of absentee carelessness, as many deemed it with Birrell, but an instinct of intense watchfulness and a determination to give patience a trial in the midst of obstacles that challenged its success.

*March 27th.*—It seemed likely that, owing to the critical position on the Western Front, Parliament might have to be summoned for some earlier date than the 9th, to pass emergency Regulations, and that possibly a Proclamation would also be needed to call out the Volunteers. Happily cooler counsels prevailed, and nothing was done to excite further the nervous state of public feeling. It appears that Parliament has never been called together during an adjournment, and, on considering the steps to be taken in case it should be necessary, a flaw in the last amending Act was discovered which, if we had to act, would have rendered strict compliance with the statute impossible. In the course of some conversation with Stamfordham he intimated that the King had very properly decided to go to France to-morrow morning, so that, if anything was to be done in the next few days, we should have to ask the Queen to do it under the powers granted subsequent to the King's accident.

*April 13th.*—We were able to adjourn the need of a Council until the King's visit to London this morning for an investiture. Curzon had taken advantage of the War Cabinet not sitting (Milner and the Prime Minister are in France) to go away, so Crawford took his place; Sandhurst, Colebrooke, and Carnock were present, and Lord Pirrie attended to be sworn. The King was disturbed by the Proclamation forbidding the import of boots and herrings, and, as Crawford could give him no sufficient reason, I was sent for to supply what H.M. was good enough to describe as a " plausible " explanation.

The situation in France is still very serious, and, as generally happens, the greater the urgency of silence, the readier are people's tongues turned to the purpose of malicious invention. One of the most mischievous rumours in circulation is to the effect that, when American troops have been engaged, they have invariably run away: a statement for which I can find no measure of excuse, and one which is as scandalous as it is despicable.

Loch joined me at luncheon. He has been invalided for three months from the Ypres salient as the result of blood-poisoning in the leg, which involved a serious operation. His comments

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RT. HON. WILFRED ASHLEY, M.P.

on the recent actions were very instructive. On one of the first days of the German advance to the south-west of Cambrai, the 9th Division maintained itself throughout the day, while inflicting enormous losses on the enemy, at a cost to its own strength of 118 men. The 55th Division at Givenchy lost hardly more. With others the confusion was appalling. The colonel of one battalion believed himself, with a single companion, to be its only survivors; but the regiment turned up in the evening 600 strong. A parallel occurred in the offensive east of Ypres in the autumn, when the colonel of one of the battalions in his own brigade sent to him for reinforcements, stating that his numbers were reduced to twenty-four. Loch had none to send him, but busied himself in looking for the missing men. In the result the battalion came out of the battle the strongest in the brigade.

Owing to the fact that the training of our men for the last three years has been in trench warfare, whereas the older conditions of open fighting had suddenly been revived, in which the German divisions withdrawn from the east had been well tried, our men were for the moment not as well trained as the enemy for their specific work, and that to a large extent accounted for the disorder in certain sections of the Army.

*April 20th.*—At a Council this morning, held primarily for proclaiming an industrial dispute in the Port of London, Lord Milner was sworn Secretary of State, and handed the seals of office. As he had to see two French officers who were returning to Paris at 11.30, he asked me to obtain the King's consent to his withdrawal as soon as the ceremony was over; whereupon, as Curzon was absent, he passed the list of business on to Emmott.

Milner's visit to Paris had so far lifted the cloud of his usual despondency that he permitted himself to speak with hopefulness if not with confidence. It was the incessant strain thrown upon our forces that had caused the deepest anxiety; some of the divisions which had suffered the most west of Cambrai had been withdrawn to the Armentières section, in the belief that it was likely to be the quietest part of the Front, and their exposure to the renewal of the strain was therefore a great cause of misgiving. However, they came out of it magnificently. Under Plumer's leadership there was no wavering or weakness, and he had not heard of a single unit which had not conducted itself with the most steadfast courage. He had seen many who had been in that area of the struggle, and nothing could exceed their cheerfulness and confidence. He seemed to think that Frank Bertie's health quite justified his retirement.

Milner paid the highest tribute to the fiery energy of Clemenceau, who at seventy-seven displayed an unresting activity and has made himself the soul of the Alliance. There is no man who expresses so adequately the indestructible spirit of France: a

spirit which is wonderfully characterised in the last novel of René Boylesve, " Tu n'es plus rien."

*April 25th.*—I expressed my surprise to Hall that the naval *coup* at Zeebrugge had not been attempted long ago, when it might have been carried through with greater ease and at much less cost. In explanation of the delay, he said laconically, " Autres hommes, autres mœurs." He added that, but for the inopportune change of wind, complete success might have been achieved for less than fifty casualties.

Dillon and Carson are severally credited with the sardonic epigram, " To set Walter Long drafting a Home Rule Bill is like asking the Bishop of London to draft the regulations of a *maison tolérée.*"

*April 27th.*—Another Council to-day for a small matter, but of some importance, postponing the application of the National Service Act to Ireland. Robert Cecil took Curzon's place, and Granard, Colebrooke, and Southborough made up the quartet. At the last moment the Prime Minister pressed for Sir W. Weir being sworn a Privy Councillor and installed as Secretary of State for the Air Ministry. He bears no visible signs of those great intuitions for war ascribed to him; his appearance and manner are unimpressive.

The King gave Granard a short audience, and I was glad that his presence received that mark of His Majesty's attention. He has been an active Irish Food Controller, with, I am afraid, little effect in enforcing abstinence.

*May 8th.*—We had to go to Windsor yesterday for a Council, as the Prime Minister was urgent on the necessity of Lord French being declared Lord-Lieutenant at the earliest moment; so he and Mr. Shortt were accordingly summoned to be sworn at the same time. Farquhar and Stamfordham travelled with us, and Curzon went by road, running it, as usual, very fine. I had meant to bring down the Testament on which Lord Roberts was twice sworn, once as Commander-in-Chief and later as Privy Councillor, in order to swear Lord French; but unfortunately left it behind, which Lord French very much regretted. Our journey back by the slowest train of the day was made extremely interesting by the fact that Lord French took the opportunity of discussing his plans with the Chief Secretary in a curiously unreserved way. So far as he defined his own position, he was going to Ireland prepared to carry out the instructions of the Cabinet as a soldier obeying orders, even if the attempt to enforce conscription was to deluge the country with blood—a regrettable necessity which he seemed to think might have to be faced. What struck me as the dangerous element in his thought was the conviction that he knew Ireland so well that he could afford to disregard the opinion of such men as Campbell, C.J.,

and Archbishop Bernard. I believe that, though he is an Irishman by descent, his knowledge of the people is partial in extent and superficial at that; indeed, Shortt seemed to me to have in him the elements of a much more trustworthy adviser, and as he has been selected for the more responsible post, it may be hoped that his judgment will be allowed the greater weight. All that he said gave the impression of a resolute character, a mind clear and sober in its aims, conscious of the limits of force and disposed to exercise it with prudence and economy. His estimate of Irish policy was guided by intuitions of good sense and generosity, and, if he is allowed a free hand, he may extricate the Government from the *impasse* into which headstrong counsels and impetuous passions have unhappily conducted them.

They would be guilty, he thought, of the gravest impolicy if the Order in Council laying the basis of conscription was issued before the Home Rule Bill had passed its serious stage.

*May* 10*th*.—The majority in the House of Commons for the Government last night is a nasty knock for Asquith; it is a new application of Charles II's aphorism. No one is likely to kill Lloyd George in order to make Asquith P.M. At the same time the action of the War Cabinet, in treating the matter with the seriousness they did, suggests that for the moment they were thrown into a state of panic. It is clear now that there was no occasion for any kind of enquiry. A few sentences of quiet explanation to the House of Commons would at once have shown that Sir F. Maurice's charges were both stale and incapable of verification. From what Lord French told me on Tuesday I gather that Sir F. Maurice had in effect tied himself up in an implication impugning the accuracy of his own figures, which is not a method likely to inspire confidence or respect.

*May* 11*th*.—Another Council to-day for the disposal of business which was not ready on Tuesday. Curzon, Desart, Farquhar, and Colcbrooke were present. I got off in the evening to the country, where I hope to be able to spend a fortnight. It is the first time for seven months that I shall have slept out of London.

*May* 27*th*.—I returned to London to-day, having missed a Council held on the 18th on hurried application from the Treasury. I had made every arrangement to return for the purpose, but on the morning in question I was suffering from a touch of the sun, to which I had exposed myself the previous day while working in the garden, and felt too unwell to undertake the day's work.

Some progress has at last been made in the proceedings under the Titles Deprivation Act, Mellor having sent me an opinion of the Law Officers which struck me as a most unsatisfactory document, supplying the pomp and parade of knowledge without its substance. Curzon described it justly as "a most melancholy exhibition of the legal mind."

*June 25th.*—We had a Council to-day at which nine Privy Councillors were sworn, including Mr. Cook, the Australian statesman, who had been appointed in 1914. Donoughmore, Mr. Lloyd, Premier of Newfoundland, Mr. Adamson, Chairman of the Labour Party, Sir W. Bull, Sir E. Goulding, Sir A. Williamson, Mr. Macpherson, and Mr. Clynes were the others. I went through the ceremony with the first three, and it all went off very well. The King kept Mr. Clynes for an audience after the Council: a wise step, and the favour well deserved.

In my conversation with Donoughmore I drew from him the impressions gathered in the course of his recent visit to India. He paid the highest tribute to Montagu's conduct of the mission; his ability, tact, and consideration were conspicuous throughout, and his suppleness and address in negotiation proved of the greatest value. The Viceroy, on the other hand, was somewhat of a disappointment, slow of apprehension, and very laboured in his handling of the problems under discussion—the result probably of lack of experience in dealing with great affairs. He arrived, however, at the same conclusions as Montagu, and gave his sympathies to all that was proposed, as a fruit of the deliberations.

*July 3rd.*—In Committee on the Midwives Bill, Salisbury carried against the Government an amendment, by which our object to retain the power of County Councils to delegate their functions in certain exceptional cases under conditions which would safeguard all the interests involved was frustrated, although Peel, who was in charge of the Bill, and Crawford made an admirable defence of the position. Crawford's remarks were as perfect in tone, matter, and form as any I have ever heard across the table; but the view of the majority, dictated by the diligence of an unscrupulous *feminine camarilla*, prevailed. Salisbury's action affords an instance of their methods. On the second reading he stated that the Bill had been prepared without the knowledge of the Midwives Board. I at once wrote telling him that not only were the Board thoroughly alive to the prospect of legislation, but that I had gone through the Bill with the secretary and chairman, and had been guided by their wishes in almost every respect. His letter of apology illustrated the completeness with which he can make amends for an error. The sequel throws further light on the methods of the woman in politics. His informant—a member of the Midwives Board—replied that Sir F. Champneys (the chairman) might have had private conversations with me, but of them she knew nothing. As a matter of fact, the chairman made an official statement to the Board, giving an explicit account of all that passed at the interview, which this mirror of feminine candour found it convenient to ignore.

*July 6th.*—We went to St. Paul's for the "silver wedding" service. Nowhere is the sense of space and spectacular effect

so well realised. The orchestral music, while we were waiting for the sacred office, was very fine, military accessories being well used; but in the actual ceremony the anthem struck the ear as poor. I never think Anglican Bishops know how to carry their ornate gaberdines, and on this occasion the impression was not imposing. The Queen was certainly the most authoritative figure in the procession. Afterwards we repaired to the Guildhall, arriving by a short cut just before the royal *cortège*. Within the building there was a long delay, as, for some reason or other, the court of aldermen tarried, and, when they did arrive, presented a somewhat heated and dishevelled aspect. The addresses were interesting, and the ceremonial formalities dignified and correct.

*July 8th.*—Mr. Rowell, the President of the Canadian Privy Council, sent his Secretary to consult me on certain points of procedure wherein there is some difference in the practice of the two countries, particularly in respect of Orders of Council, which are unknown in the Dominions. Orders *in* Council, moreover, were not approved by the Governor-General in Council, but signed by him upon adoption by the Cabinet, the only Committee of Council known to the Constitution. The present practice, therefore, led to a great congestion of business upon a single channel, and I advised that a system of Orders *of* Council might be introduced under which matters of less importance need not go to the Governor-General, but be passed by the Cabinet or any other Committee of Council appointed thereto under an Order in Council limiting such process to certain clearly defined classes of business. This, he thought, would be a great improvement.

*July 10th.*—I attended a meeting of the Imperial War Conference at the Colonial Office under the presidency of the Seeretary of State, to advise upon certain aspects of a scheme promoted by the Minister of Reconstruction for the establishment of an "Imperial Mineral Resources Bureau," the creation of which by Royal Charter I had been the first to suggest, in order to get the Government out of a difficulty in which the ignorance of Addison's advisers had involved him.

On going into the waiting-room, I noted a distinguished Oriental whom I recognised as the Maharajah of Patiala, sitting with his face to the wall, as if in disgrace. I had seen him at the Guildhall, and, in response to my salutations, he told me he had escaped from the Conference in order to seek solace in a cigarette, being, as I sympathetically suggested, very much bored by what was going on. After some delay in the Private Secretary's room until my business was reached, I was given a seat between Addison, who was on Walter Long's left, and Cook, the Australian Minister of Marine. Mr. Burton from South Africa played the part of a somewhat querulous interrogator; and later Mr. Meighen, the Canadian Minister of Marine, who, with Massey, the New

Zealand Premier, and Mr. Cook were the three most impressive figures, raised the question of finance, upon which of course there was much sensitiveness, and wanted to know what security there was against a large increase of the guaranteed expenditure on administration. Upon this Addison was not ready with a reply; so, at his invitation, I suggested that nothing would be easier than to insert a provision in the financial section of the Charter, limiting the liability of the Dominions to, say, 50 per cent. in excess of the thousand pounds contemplated, as the share of each towards current expenses, without reference to the States concerned for special sanction. As it drew near the hour for closing deliberations, the matter was adjourned to a further meeting.

*July* 13*th.*—I went over to Carlton House Terrace for the purpose of tendering Clynes the oath of office, but Curzon had a spinal attack of such a disabling character that he could not come downstairs. We were kept there, however, some time, and I had an interesting conversation with Clynes, whose period of office has clearly been of great educational value: a further proof, if one was needed, of the importance of bringing Labour within the responsibilities of power if it is to enjoy any political training. Clynes had profited greatly by contact with the larger outlook of a man like Lord Rhondda, of whom he spoke with sincere praise.

It was significant to hear from him that Labour at large had ceased to take any strong interest in the reform of the House of Lords, and gave, as the principal reason, the sturdy defence of individual right for which members of that assembly had made themselves conspicuous.

*July* 15*th.*—Clynes was safely sworn this morning. Subsequently I attended another meeting of the Imperial War Conference, and harangued them on the value of a Chartered Body as the depositary of the powers and functions with which it was proposed to invest the Mineral Resources Bureau. Mr. Burton was not altogether convinced, and both he and Mr. Meighen appeared to fear that its constitution in such a form would take the scheme beyond the tentative and experimental stage which, for the moment, was all they thought called for. Australia and New Zealand, on the other hand, were in favour of it taking a permanent shape from the outset, as a guarantee of the ultimate development of its potentialities: they thought little, too, of the financial scruples of their colleagues. Ultimately, Walter Long suggested a small representative sub-committee to bring about an agreement, which was accepted and the consideration of the topic adjourned for a few days.

*July* 19*th.*—Council at Buckingham Palace, principally for stiffening the exercise of powers under the Aliens Restriction

Act. Curzon, Sandhurst, Edmund Talbot, whom the King seemed glad to see, and F. Ponsonby were present. Later I went over to the Imperial War Conference, which endorsed the recommendation of the sub-committee. The Mineral Resources Bureau is to be constituted by Royal Charter, but its financial prospect is, at least for three years, to be somewhat nebulous. Neither Mr. Rowell, representing Canada, nor Sir J. Ward, the spokesman of New Zealand, was satisfied from opposite points of view, but they both accepted the amended resolution as in terms the only available compromise.

I did not go to the sitting of the Conference, which was this week devoted to Mr. Hughes's resolution on the subject of a Supreme Court of Appeal. I heard afterwards that his advocacy, which gave him few opportunities for rhetoric, fell rather flat. Everyone subscribed to the theory of such a court, but, with no concrete expression of the idea before them, they declined to commit themselves to its urgency. The only fruitful result of the discussion was the testimony elicited from the representatives of Canada, New Zealand, South Africa, and India to the extremely satisfactory way in which the Judicial Committee did its work. Sinha, the spokesman for India, as the quarter from which more than half the appeals came, was emphatic on this point. The two obstacles to the realisation of Mr. Hughes's dream of " one Supreme Tribunal for all Appellants resident within the Empire," however attractive in appearance, are (1) a matter of finance—will the Dominions contribute to its cost on an adequate scale ?—and (2) a matter of repute—will a court recruited largely from Dominions Judges enjoy the confidence of British litigants either at home or beyond the seas ?

The Attorney-General has at last been quickened into activity under the Titles Deprivation Act, for which it appears I may claim the credit. In writing to Mellor, I had occasion to say that the Law Officers were disposed to involve him in a " much more laborious and inquisitorial process than the exigencies of the case require " : an opinion he sent on to the Attorney-General, drawing from him a request for the grounds of my belief, " with which, as at present advised, they were unable to agree." These I was very glad to give with the utmost frankness, citing in particular the way in which the Act defines " adherence to His Majesty's enemies." This morning I was amused to hear from a representative of the Treasury Solicitor that the statement of these grounds had administered the necessary momentum, as the affidavit now at last drafted, which it is suggested I should sign, is little more than a compendium of my advice upon the issue.

I am told that in some Indian work embodying Orders in Council giving effect to decisions of the Privy Council, my name appears as Almeric Faiziz Roy.

*July 29th.*—I went into the Council-chamber to hear Lord Sumner deliver judgment in the Rhodesia lands case: he unravelled the complicated issue with great skill, and pronounced the decision of the Court in terms of impressive weight; on the whole, the finding is a distinct advantage to the company. Lord Loreburn, who presided at the hearing, dissented from his colleagues, and, while agreeing with them that the company had no possessory title, would not have given a penny for the expense of administration.

*August 1st.*—The Committee of Council under the Titles Deprivation Act met this morning in the Council Chamber, the Lord Chancellor presiding. Lords Lansdowne, Crewe, Sandhurst, Newton, Stamfordham, and Sumner were the others present, Crewe not arriving till the proceedings were three parts over. The Attorney-General, who appeared with his colleague, did little more than read the Act and the affidavits, to which Mellor deposed. The Court was then cleared to consider the draft report which I had prepared and circulated in order to save time. With some verbal alterations, it was adopted, the Committee determining to report to His Majesty the four persons named, viz. the Duke of Albany, the Duke of Cumberland, the Duke of Brunswick, and Lord Taaffe, as having during the present war "adhered to His Majesty's enemies."

*August 7th.*—With Curzon's approval I sent to the Home Secretary a copy of a note made in these Memoirs of a conversation with Lord Reading on December 19th, 1915, relating to the case he had recently tried to which Sir E. Speyer and Sir E. Cassel were parties, as I thought the opinions he then expressed upon the former's attitude, both in connection with the trial and the operations of the Speyer firm in New York, might be useful to the Secretary of State in determining whether under the new Act Speyer's naturalisation should not be revoked.

*August 15th.*—The King's being in London for two days after his return from the Front gave us an opportunity for a Council, at which all business of immediate importance was disposed of pending the departure of the Court to Windsor. From all accounts the nine days spent in France were an unmixed success, the King's arrival being very happily timed to coincide with an unprecedented record of achievement on the part of the Army. Indeed, it might almost seem as if his presence had given the impetus and inspiration required. Curzon, George Buchanan, Somerleyton, and F. Ponsonby were present. The King himself motioned G. Buchanan to the place directed. For his audience after the Council he had a letter from a Russian, whose credibility he could trust, recently returned from the country, giving the first authentic narrative of the Tsar's death, including an incident which points to his son having shared the same fate. According to this story,

the Tsar's execution was solely dictated by the fear of the Soviet that Czecho-Slovak forces approaching Ekaterinburg would liberate their prisoner. He was subjected to a mock trial, at which he was not present, and the intimation conveyed to him that he would be shot in a couple of hours. He was conveyed to the Riding School, where he met his death with great composure and determination, refusing to have his eyes bandaged, and merely pleading for the lives of his wife and children. He added the prayer that his blood might be the redemption of Russia. After this deed of blood one of the murderers took upon himself to intimate to the Tsarewitch that his "blood-sucking" parent was dead. The poor boy burst into a flood of tears, whereupon one of the party whipped out a revolver and shot him on the spot. With this act of sanguinary brutality the curtain falls upon the dynasty. The pathos of a child's fate may do something to redeem its fame, but the depths of its fall are too poignant for any trite moralities.

*August* 21*st*.—Dunlop Smith furnished me with a characteristic anecdote of Dean Swift. While walking in the South of Ireland he took refuge, during a violent thunderstorm, under an oak, where he found a man and woman also seeking shelter. In the course of conversation it transpired that they were tinkers by occupation, and, though unmarried, had been living together for some time. This, he pointed out, was not quite right; whereupon the man said they were ready to be married if "his riverince" would do it for them. The Dean brought out his prayer-book and proceeded to make them man and wife. The husband then said he understood something called marriage lines were wanted as evidence of the ceremony. Swift made no difficulty, and offered to provide the necessary document. Taking out a pocket-book, he tore a leaf from it and wrote these lines:

> "Under an oak, in thundery weather,
> I joined this rogue and whore together,
> And only He who rules the thunder
> Can put this rogue and whore asunder.
>
> JONATHAN SWIFT."

I had some talk with Smith about the Indian changes, as to the practical working of which he was not without misgiving, on the score of the friction they would create between the two Governments, central and local. The gradual development of the process would, he thought, prove a challenge to the more impatient spirits to proceed more quickly to the goal than prudence or preparation justified. However, he agreed that the whole of Indian history contained the germ and tendency of which these proposals were the appointed outcome, though he regretted the precipitancy of the Cabinet in laying down so wide a general principle as they did

in October last, without perhaps being alive to the full consequences involved. It is difficult, however, to accept any reading of history which does not discover in the activity of the revolutionary spirit the very incarnation of life itself, and upon such a vast field you must expect the forces which mould the future to present themselves in large and inventive formulæ.

At an important meeting convened to consider the whole subject Sinha made a powerful appeal for the favourable reception of the plan. Austen Chamberlain, who was in the chair, gave it his benediction, and, in words which were not reported, confided to his hearer that he had had some doubt whether E. Montagu's personality was exactly suited to the task which he had undertaken, but he was glad to admit that his fears had not been realised: an admission on all fours with Donoughmore's assurance to me that the mission had been a great personal triumph for the Secretary of State.

*August 29th.*—I had some talk upon the Indian Report with Kilbracken, who admitted the place of the scheme in an uninterrupted evolution, and freely recognised the efforts to state faithfully every possible objection. The last characteristic may be due to the fact, which he affirmed to be true on Hardinge's authority, that the document was drawn up by a man who was not in agreement with the proposals. For his own part, he supported them in principle, and should certainly give the project a second reading, though there were details, notably the position assigned to a Committee of the House of Commons, to which he took the strongest objection.

Granville Egerton told me that, while he was in France the other day, the huge store of transport munitions collected near Calais, and valued at £2,000,000, was totally consumed as the result of a fire due to German incendiary bombs dropped from aircraft.

*September 4th.*—The King, being in London, held a Council for the disposal of routine business: some additions to the Defence of the Realm Regulations, including a power to the Home Secretary to lock up persons whose internment might in his opinion be necessary for the protection of British subjects abroad: a provision intended to deal with Litvinoff as a reprisal for the brutal murder of Cromie, our Naval Attaché in Russia. R. Cecil took Curzon's place, Colebrooke, Stamfordham, and H. W. Forster being also summoned.

I had not returned to the Office five minutes when I learnt that we were on the brink of an economic catastrophe, owing to a threatened strike of the employees of the Industrial Co-operative Societies in the North. By the gross mismanagement of the Labour Ministry, the Secretarial Staff of which seem to have no communication with its other branches, Sir G. Ask-

with's section had no notice of the Council, though the Secretariat had been notified thereof last Friday and the draft Proclamation applying that part of the Munitions Act which makes arbitration compulsory under the severest penalties, did not reach us until an hour after the Council had taken place. I am bound to say that the emissary of the Labour Ministry, who called upon me, took the exposure of their neglect in very good part, and left the room assuring me that the language I had used was not one whit too strong for the offence. It appeared, from what he said, that the servants of the huge co-operative machinery that supplies the West Riding industrial population with the necessaries of life were determined to strike on Saturday: the management, the trades unions themselves, having refused unconditional compliance with the formula, equal wage for equal work, in the case of the large number of raw and inexperienced female hands they had been obliged to introduce. Every appeal to patriotism and good sense had fallen on deaf ears, and the only alternative, in default of a Proclamation under the Munitions Act, was the total disorganisation of the food supply of the West Riding, with the possible consequences of semi-starvation for the vast population concerned. In these circumstances I had no choice but to ask for another Council before the King returned to Windsor. Happily he had arranged to see Lloyd George at 3.15, and, by fixing the Council at four, the Prime Minister undertook to act for the Lord President, and I managed to collect Colebrooke and Louis Mallet. When we reached Buckingham Palace arrangements were in suspense for the arrival of Sir D. Shackleton, to explain the problem to the King and Prime Minister. At last they came downstairs, and before the Council I was called in to explain certain points to the two. It was the first time I had assisted at a conference between them, and there seemed a curious lack of formality in their intercourse: perhaps, indeed, it would be impossible to maintain other relations with a man like Lloyd George, who, whether or no he scorns conventionality, is certainly the most unconventional person who ever held his present office. He was probably right in saying that a dispute, to which both parties were trade unions, representing different classes of labour, was always the most difficult to settle, there being a disposition on both sides to proceed to extremities, which was wanting in the ordinary struggle between employer and employed, where neither party, owing perhaps to ignorance of the full strength of the other, were prepared for a conflict *à outrance*.

*September 5th.*—I saw Askwith this afternoon, who was very grateful for the Proclamation being issued so promptly, though still in some fear that the expedient might fail, so widespread was the movement and so considerable its sympathetic ramifications. He hoped, however, the element of surprise would be as

successful as it had been a few weeks ago in connection with harvesting the Irish flax crop. There the dispute owed its origin to Sinn Fein machinations, and the appeal to the Munitions Act crumpled up the organisation in a second by its suddenness and unlooked-for effect. The secret had been admirably kept, T. W. Russell being carefully excluded from the knowledge of it, as, otherwise, with his well-known disloyalty, it would have been in the possession of the professional promoters of disorder.

*September 27th.*—At the Council this morning the Lord President, Farquhar, Sandhurst, and Southborough were present. The last-named goes to India on Monday for six months, to preside on the two Committees appointed under the Montagu-Chelmsford report, to consider (1) the status of the Civil Service, and (2) the distribution of reserved and transferred matters. Southborough had seen Shortt, the Chief Secretary for Ireland, a little while ago, and heard from him that the feeling in the country among all classes is rapidly setting towards the revival of the proposals of the Convention, which throws interesting light upon the declaration Shortt made a few days since that the solution of the Irish problem was nearer than it had ever been in Irish history. He told Southborough one very significant fact, viz: that French, since he had been there, had become an ardent Home Ruler !

*October 14th.*—Newton told me that he brought back from The Hague a firm conviction, gathered from facts which came to his knowledge there, that even at that date Ludendorff was extremely anxious to bring about peace at the earliest possible moment. His desire then, as it is now that of the German military chiefs, was to save the German Army from further loss. There is no doubt that he and Hindenburg have intimated that there is nothing more to be done in a military sense, and that the only thing is, if possible, to secure by diplomacy what is left of the German Army. The situation on the West has had much to say to their reaching this conclusion, but there is also good reason to think the German troops, both in the Balkans and Russia, have refused to go on fighting. I also ascertained that the reprisals contemplated by the Government, as announced in their declaration upon the treatment of English prisoners, covers the abolition of all distinctions between officers and men in the conditions of prisoners here. German officers would still be separately interned, but they would be deprived of the service of orderlies and would have to do all the manual work of the camp just like the ordinary soldier in captivity. Nothing would touch the pride of the German officer so acutely, and it is calculated that, if it becomes necessary to take the step, it would have immediate effect.

*October 23rd.*—It is almost a record in these times that twenty-

six days should pass without a Council, and although there were Orders submitted to-day which could not wait any longer, the list of business was by no means heavy. Desart had promised to be present, but, owing to his illness, I had to arrange with Donoughmore to take his place, who, with Curzon, Colbrokeeo, and F. Ponsonby, made the attendance. Donoughmore had one significant story in connection with the loss of the "Leinster." A man he knew in County Kildare was in conversation with one of the few prominent Sinn Feiners still at large, who, in a moment of somewhat fatuous candour, exclaimed: "It is the very thing they had promised not to do!" Donoughmore also told me, in reference to the story of Dean Swift and the tinkers he married (see August 21st), that there is a man on his Irish estate whose father remembers to have seen the paper bearing the verse composed on the occasion above the signature "Jonathan Swift."

*October 27th.*—We attended the Tercentenary Service to the memory of Sir Walter Raleigh at St. Margaret's, Westminster. Arthur Balfour read the first lesson, which might have served as an education for most parsons. The music, mainly from the sixteenth and seventeenth century, was interesting, particularly a setting of the 150th Psalm by Pelham Humphreys, which sounded the note of triumph very impressively. Raleigh's own affecting verses, written on the eve of execution, were given with much pathos to music of Tallis.

Afterwards we were treated to a very sumptuous tea at the Carnegies' house in Dean's Yard, where Mrs. Carnegie was a refreshingly young and graceful figure.

*October 28th.*—I had luncheon with Lady Jersey and met the Buchanans, Lady Dynevor and Commander Fraser, the second son of the Saltouns, a very keen-looking and courtly mannered sailor. George Buchanan had a story from some naval officer that Beatty, having been summoned by the Prime Minister to give his views as to the conditions of an armistice covering naval warfare, stated them in terms which fairly took the other's breath away. In reply to some hesitation on the part of Lloyd George, the Admiral proceeded to say that the imposition of anything short of these would be the signal for his resignation.

*November 12th.*—Time has never shown a more abrupt close to the confusion and distress of nations than the events of the last few days have brought to pass. To the discerning eye, however, things could hardly have had a different issue. Within the compass of such a survey it has long been manifest that only one end was possible, and that its suddenness would be as impressive as its overwhelming completeness. The obstinacy of the last stages of resistance was the measure of the military caste's reluctance to yield to the inevitable, and when they lost

heart there was nothing for the masses they had deceived but unconditional surrender.

In the moral order of the universe no more salutary sentence has been passed upon the pretensions of a whole people to dominate the world by virtue of a claim to the formidable rights of the superman. With the crumbling of these pretensions, the dissipation of this drcam, the great republic of the nations breathes again, and Germany has now to enter the purgatory of her lost hopes and suffer the appointed penalty of her crimes, to resume, it may be, hereafter in a chastened and contrite spirit a useful place in the progress of civilisation. Never has a belligerent dared so much and found itself at the end of a long war so prostrate and downtrodden. The fears of those who deemed that the terms of thc Armistice might by their severity galvanise exhausted forces to one more effort have proved illusory, and the Alliance can now give ultimate law to the motley ruins of the Central Powers. The relief of the people in this country, when at last it ventured to express itself, was on the whole recorded with praiseworthy restraint, though here and there sullied by excesses, which I am told were unseen in Paris. In common with the French, we had sufferecd too much to treat victory with laughter, and the first hours gave, perhaps, more place for tears, since surely all serious and grateful thoughts must have polarised on those who died to make us free. The instinct of the crowds that lost no time in wending their way to Buckingham Palace was at least sound in the call it made to the Sovereign to share and express their emotions, and should satisfy some that revolution in this country is not likely to be directed against the Crown. On the whole there was little to censure or criticise in the carnival of the streets: it was reserved for places like the Ritz to exhibit aspects of indulgence less clean and sincere. I was dining there yesterday and could not fail to mark the prevailing note of boisterous gluttony. It was not, moreover, men who gave rowdiness the most conspicuous advertisement. Women, in the *abandon* of dress and deportment, were at least as noticeable; among them some who ought to have known better. The effigy of the German Crown Prince, surely a pitiful enough person himself, came in for much commonplace derision among a party, the pitch of whose hilarity was deplorably low.

I celebrated my sixty-seventh birthday by a small dinner: Julia Lady Tweeddale, Lady Mountgarret, Mansfeldt Findlay, our Minister at Christiania, St. George Caulfeild, Miss Grisell Cochrane-Baillie, and Captain Roddie. It seemed an appropriate hour for solemnising memory, while at the same moment the thoughts of the past reached out to grasp the hopes of a future which could not have been better symbolised than in the figure and character of our youngest guest.

*November* 19*th*.—As the King left to-night for a short tour in Scotland, it was necessary to have a Council for the Prorogation, which after some delay was fixed for 6.30, to give time for the preparation of the King's Speech. Late last night Stamfordham telephoned to know whether I could summon Sir R. Borden, as the King had no other opportunity of giving him an audience. This I did the first thing in the morning, and further arranged that he should take his place next Curzon and remain with him, in his character of a member of the Imperial War Cabinet, when the King's Speech was formally approved. I think these attentions pleased him, and are certainly worth paying. He spoke with great emphasis of the extraordinary change that had come to pass since he left Europe the third week of August; one, indeed, that no one at that time could have anticipated in his wildest moment of vision. Chesterfield, Desart, and Fritz Ponsonby were also present.

*November* 21*st*.—Hall tells me that the German officer responsible for the surrender of the fleet, in telegraphing to the naval authorities that the act of submission had been accomplished, used the significant words: "The attitude of the British Fleet as to order and discipline was faultless."

After vainly endeavouring to obtain from the Prime Minister or the Chancellor of the Exchequer the date to be inserted in the Dissolution Proclamation for the assembly of the new Parliament, I sent an ultimatum to the last-named that, unless I heard to the contrary by to-night, I should give instructions for Tuesday, January 21st, to be fixed.

*November* 25*th*.—This day saw the end of the longest Parliament this country has known since the first Parliament of Charles II. At a Council held at 11.30 for the dissolution, the Lord Chancellor took the place of the Lord President, with Sandhurst, Maurice de Bunsen, and F. Ponsonby. The King seemed full of satisfaction at his coming visit to Paris.

*December* 1*st*.—The reception of the French and Italian envoys at Charing Cross this morning was marked by one serious blunder, viz. the omission of the Italian National Anthem, which was at once made the subject of a protest by Imperiali. The responsibility lay, I understand, with the military authorities. It was unfortunate, as the Italian Ambassador had taken in very good part the rejection of his proposal that Signor Orlando should go in the same carriage as Clemenceau and Lloyd George, on its being pointed out that with both Italian envoys together in one carriage there could be no mistake about the cordiality of the ovation intended for them alone.

The figure of Clemenceau, whose traits showed the strain upon nervous old age, perhaps moved people more than any other; his career covering the whole space between the spoliation of

France and the return of her lost provinces, he seemed to gather into his own person the forces of righteousness and retribution.

*December 2nd.*—The preparations for the General Election bear a somewhat chaotic aspect. The immense addition to the electoral roll has had the unexpected result of tightening official control, due partly to the mutual suspicions of the organisers of an imperfectly consolidated alliance. It would, I believe, in most cases have been preferable, in the interests of the Coalition, for the constituencies themselves to have sifted the list.

The Coalition is bound to succeed upon the present occasion, but there would be better grounds for confidence if it had acted with a surer insight of the future in its relations with Labour, as in the ranks of that connection will be found the remainder-men of Coalition failure. In a great many constituencies the better class of Labour candidates, i.e. the genuine representatives of organised industry, might have had their way made easier by the withdrawal of Tory nominees, who have nothing to commend them but their insignificance. It looks too much as if one section of the Coalition was determined to seize the citadel and hold it against all comers.

The outcry of orthodox Liberalism leaves me unmoved: they had their chance; for more than two years the direction of the war was in their hands, and the country is not likely to forget or to be tender towards the record of their failure.

*December 3rd.*—The Foreign Office are spreading themselves right royally in preparation for the Peace Conference. A reduced estimate of 400 persons, I am told, is their present demand, which is rightly described as one of the biggest scandals of the time. Not content with an army of typists and other "flappers," to use the expression of my informant, a very distinguished ex-member of the Department, a hospital with nurses and doctors forms part of the complement. The whole scale of expenditure is estimated on the same prodigal lines: thus, the precedents of the Congress of Vienna have been ransacked and a demand for clothes presented which I am glad to learn has been withstood by the Treasury, with the result of some reduction of the original claim. If this is so in connection with a great Department of respectable traditions and a reputation for public spirit, not hitherto eontaminated with "business" instincts, how can we be surprised at the depredations on State funds which have been promoted by the higher staff in some of the new Ministries?

*December 11th–12th.*—I was at Euston for the funeral of the Duke of Grafton, who died last week half through his ninety-eighth year. The end came very quietly; a few days' manifest failing followed by a few hours' coma, and the long life was over. His tenacious vitality not only kept time at bay, but defied accident.

Few men would have survived a wound in the head so severe as he received at Inkermann, when surgical skill and appliances had hardly emerged from the rudeness of mediæval methods; and once, when he was seventy-five, and again at ninety, he suffered falls which might easily have been fatal. With a sense of rectitude so keen as to make him implacable towards some breaches of integrity, he was yet animated with a strong sense of justice, and in the thirty-six years of his administration of two large properties, enjoyed the respect and esteem of all those who were brought into contact with him. He had a signal repugnance to the touch of party politics, which he regarded in the light of a taint, but he had inherited a good deal of the sturdy independence characteristic of the best aspect of Whig politics, and in his relations with men was guided by a real liberality of outlook and an instinctive avoidance of formulary prejudice. The scene at the graveside was an eloquent witness to the general feeling. I went down with Howe, and we found Chesterfield, who represented the King, had arrived over-night. Happily the rain had moments of intermission and the few hundred yards to the little church were traversed without our getting wet. It struck me with peculiar pathos when the time came to place the Duke's coffin in the grave, where his wife had lain for sixty-one years:

> "Married his body to the dust
> It so much loved; and filled the room
> His heart kept empty in her tomb."

*December* 14*th*.—I heard from Farrer's that the Duke had left me £300 in recompense of my trouble as one of his trustees. Under his will additional functions have been vested in them, including the somewhat delicate task of determining the objects to be dealt with as heirlooms at Wakefield and Euston. It seems to me, as I have told them, that the lines to be followed in discharging the task should be primarily those indicated in the Act exempting from duty objects worthy of a place in a national collection, to which should be added others of distinct family interest and importance.

*December* 15*th*.—I met Glyn Philpot at luncheon with Julia Lady Tweeddale, and afterwards repaired to his studio, where there was interesting work displayed characteristic of his power to disengage the leading traits of any face he delineates. He has liberated himself from much current humbug in portraiture, and shares my views in deploring that some of his contemporaries were content with the vogue enjoyed by a style attractive to women who look upon art as a vehicle of advertisement. There was one very significant head of a man (Leslie), who is the leading actor at the Old Vic., which draws huge audiences in South London for pure Shakespearean drama.

*December* 16*th.*—The Graftons had luncheon with us, Julia Lady Tweeddale coming to meet them.

*December* 18*th.*—A Counеil to-day to round up the business of the year. Curzon, Desart, Farquhar, and F. Ponsonby were present. The King expressed a hope that he would not be wanted for some time, as he was going to Sandringham for six weeks, though he was always quite ready to return if required.

*December* 20*th.*—The King's wish to get away not later than the 23rd has been rudely disturbed by President Wilson's resolve to visit this eountry next week, and the arrangements of Ministers to take a holiday have been equally frustrated. It seems singular that some early foreeast of the President's intention should not have reaehed our authorities, as the ineonvenienee of providing for his reeeption in the middle of Christmas week is eonsiderable: but nothing must be allowed to mar the eordiality of his weleome.

*December* 26*th.*—We went to luneheon with Burdett-Coutts to see the President's entry. Canon and Mrs. Carnegie, Miss Carnegie, and Mrs. Crawshay were there; and the Everard Barings, Armaghdales, and others eame to the subsequent show. The President's efforts at fraternisation were very emphatic and seemed generally appreeiated. Mrs. Carnegie told me it was the realisation of a long-eherished dream of hers that the two peoples should be one in sentiment and good-will.

*December* 28*th.*—To Asquith and his adherents the result of the General Eleetion is not an overthrow, but an obliteration. While deploring his personal rebuff, I eannot profess surprise. He and his friends have eherished too long the eonvietion of indispensability. All the errors into whieh Asquith has allowed himself to be goaded in the last two years have rested on the belief that the eountry was panting for the opportunity to reeall him. It is this infatuation that has inspired his Press in their ill-eonsidered attaeks on the Prime Minister. Heaven knows Lloyd George is vulnerable enough, but the indiscriminate abuse of "The Daily News" and "The Westminster Gazette" has recoiled upon its authors. To the last these politieians were eareless of their doom. Only three days ago MeKenna scoffed at the suggestion that he was in any danger, and at the Mansion House this day Asquith told Lord Shaw he had not given the risks of defeat a moment's thought.

It was for years an artiele of faith that Asquith's position in the House of Commons was impregnable, and the fact that it has got on for two years without him did not suggest to his eol-leagues that the eountry might as easily get on without them, in whose diseredit their immeasurably greater leader had been involved.

Unhappily for his reputation, it has taken possession of the publie mind that the laek of energy in prosecuting the early

stages of the war must be placed to his account. His skill in postponing decisions, his slowness to recognise that the ordinary conditions of Cabinet government must be revolutionised, the reluctance to interfere with the mechanism of national life, ultimately piled up a case against his Administration that no subsequent record could reverse or challenge. As a Civil Servant with no small opportunities for observation, I am of opinion that the effects of the change in direction two years ago may be compared to the substitution of dynamite for a damp squib.

My daughter and I dined with the Lamingtons and went to see "Twelfth Night" at the Court Theatre. An average performance, not without great interest, but lacking in the distinction which should go with the presentation of Shakespearean drama. The standing defect of English actors, who are always more concerned with how they look than what they say, was very manifest.

*December* 30*th*.—The hesitation which some Departments are showing in the reduction of their establishments demands the earliest attention of Parliament. Men in highly paid posts are being kept on, because the departure of one would be the signal of a clean sweep, though many of them tell you that, with every effort to justify their salaries, they cannot put in more than one hour's effective work per diem.

Stamfordham told me this morning that the King had settled with the Prime Minister to come to London next week, in order to give effect to the forthcoming ministerial changes before the preliminaries of the Peace Conference required Lloyd George's presence in Paris. These changes will, he said, be very considerable, including the dircction of the two Services, the Chancellorship of the Exchequer, and probably the Colonial Office. What are we to think, he added, of the *vox populi* which throws Asquith on to the scrap-heap and continues to acclaim Pemberton Billing!

*December* 31*st*.—The year ends upon a decisive chapter of human history. The strain and stress of four long years have stamped themselves indelibly upon all that have suffered under any aspect of the struggle.

Peace, however, is far from bringing rest and tranquillity. The insurgent cry is for men and women of vision, who will give what is left to them of life to the infusion of a new spirit into the dry bones of a perishing civilisation, and to the training of younger lives to shoulder the burdens of humanity with chastened hopes and salutary purpose. Men have fought and died by millions to reconquer centuries for the soul, and it is for all of us in our several degrees to see to it that they have not died in vain, and to make the conquest sure by the labour and, if need be, by the tears of sacrifice.

## 1919

*January 2nd.*—At luncheon Hall, who is leaving the Admiralty at the end of the month, had something to say on the latitude officials, connected with the War Office, were allowing themselves by the disclosure of confidential matter in the columns of newspapers. General Cockerill, whose indiscretions appear to-day, was an instance in point. The Admiralty, on the other hand, had laid an embargo on Jellicoe's intention to describe anew the battle of Jutland, though, having had all the best of the first description, it is not altogether plain why he wishes to do so. I took the opportunity of asking Hall what he thought of Pollen's recent book, which leaves on Jellicoe's shoulders the responsibility of refusing the most palpable chance of converting the action into a crowning victory. His reply is significant: Pollen, it appears, was refused all departmental help and had to do his best with the published material, reinforced, as may be, by the opinions of eye-witnesses; and yet, according to Hall, he comes very near the truth, which is in striking confirmation of all I have heard from independent sources.

Beatty, who was entrusted with the duty of engaging the High Sea Fleet and bringing it to the appointed rendezvous, nobly fulfilled his mission at the cost of three out of his eight battle cruisers, and was rewarded by seeing the Grand Fleet pass across the head of the German line without any attempt to bring it to close action, although all the conditions rendering the day unsuitable for aerial observation or submarine operations were distinctly favourable to the attack. The danger of any lure on to a mine-field he dismissed as vain; there were none in the neighbourhood, and ample time and opportunity to destroy one-third of the German Fleet, thus achieving one of the resounding successes of the war at a moment of its worst outlook.

*January 7th.*—Sir Satyendra Sinha called this morning for information on the ceremonies to be observed when sworn of the Privy Council. I had previously ascertained, through Dunlop Smith, that, while with true catholic spirit ready to take the oaths upon the sacred books of Christian or Mohammedan, he would prefer to do so on the Upanishads, which constitute the mystic and philosophical section of the Vedic scriptures. This he confirmed, though I am afraid the book is of a somewhat inconvenient bulk. He is a very pleasant little man, speaking English perfectly, and hardly short of the appearance or manner of an Englishman. He had been at the station to welcome the Willingdons on arrival last night, and spoke very warmly of their services to the community while at Bombay.

*January 8th.*—Stamfordham told me he was to see the Prime Minister at 3.15, after which he proposed to call and tell me the

VISCOUNT AND VISCOUNTESS WILLINGDON.

result: Lloyd George's Private Secretary, who is invariably the last to possess any reliable information, saying about the same time that a list of the changes would probably be in our hands this evening. At 4.30 I learned that this hope, as I expected, was unrealisable, and a few minutes later I learnt from Stamfordham through the telephone that all hope of a Council this week must be abandoned. He found a most chaotic condition prevailing at No. 10. I asked him whether, with his knowledge of Downing Street, he was surprised, at which he laughed. The gentlemen there, I said, had the qualities of both the hare and the tortoise, they moved as slowly as the one and doubled like the other.

*January 14th.*—The Council for the transfer of the Seals was held at midday, the King coming up from Sandringham for the purpose. The ceremonial part of the function went off without a hitch, though with all that had to be done it was past one o'clock when I left the Palace, having arrived at ten minutes past twelve. Andrew Weir,[1] the new Minister of Munitions, soon to pass into a Ministry of Supply, produced a very favourable impression. In some conversation I had with him yesterday he gave me a vivid account of the reckless prodigality that had marked the history of the Ministry. His task was to bring it under proper control as a permanent Department of State, and so to adjust its relations to trade and production that the two might enjoy a fresh start unhampered by the vicious traditions that had gathered round three and a half years of profligacy and extravagance. As I put it, with his cordial endorsement, he had to reduce an inundation to prescribed channels.

Owing to the carelessness of the Prime Minister's *entourage*, I had to obtain the King's consent to Weir's being sworn a Privy Councillor before the submission had reached him, as J. T. Davies had accompanied his chief to Paris without giving it a thought. The insouciance of this gentleman, when it comes to Ministry-making, beggars belief. Hylton, who was Captain of the Yeomen of the Guard, received the Prime Minister's invitation to *continue* in the office of Lord-in-Waiting; Derek Keppel was asked to remain Master of the Household, an office which is of course held by the personal appointment of the Sovereign.

Walter Long looked ill and fatigued, resting on a stick and seeking refuge in a chair during the business of the Council.

*January 17th.*—Yesterday afternoon Auckland Geddes, Worthington Evans, Mr. Roberts, and Sir R. Horne attended to take the oaths of their respective offices in the presence of the Lord President. Horne, whom I had not met before, has a clear-cut, alert face indicative of quickness and decision.

*January 18th.*—At luncheon with the Alfred Bethells I met

[1] Created Lord Inverforth in February 1919.

Sidney Webb and his wife. Defeat at the polls had not dimmed the valour of the former's faith, as it appeared from one or two ineffable remarks. Both of them, as preachers of revolution, were a little chastened by the excesses into which revolutionary movements in Russia and Germany had been led, and Sidney Webb indulged in some speculation upon the exact point in the French Revolution at which he would have perished. I put it with Danton and his disciples, but he thought earlier, at the downfall of Vergniaud and the heroes of the Gironde. Mrs. Webb at least would have been an abler and more versatile Madame Roland. She told me later that the favourable view taken of Bolshevism in the "New Statesman" was due to the reports of two Fabian delegates who had gone to Petrograd on a mission of enquiry. I put it to her, however, whether they were likely to have seen or heard anything more than the Government wished them to know, so that from the outset they could only reach conclusions favourable to their hosts, and that she admitted to be undeniably true. She is much subdued since I last saw her, and the buoyancy of her hopes has suffered. She still retained the charm of voice which was always a strong attraction, while her sentiments have softened and lost much of the challenge that used to characterise them.

*February 4th.*—The publication of the letters which passed between Asquith and Lloyd George in December 1916 (due, I am told, to a theft) has been taken very quietly: in some measure because they do not substantiate the charges that were so recklessly flung at the present Prime Minister. On the whole, indeed, he emerges from the correspondence with considerable credit. It is true that his flamboyant and rhetorical style suggests to some that he intended it should see the light, but it is not a very sure ground of inference, as Lloyd George has no epistolary manner and writes exactly as he speaks. At any rate, the publication tends to dispose of the belief that in the whole transaction he was nothing but the tool of Lord Northcliffe. Some of the papers refer to a communication made by his Tory colleagues as the true cause of Asquith's collapse, but upon that point there is some misunderstanding.

A letter was indeed written conveying, in what its authors intended to be the most polite and considerate terms, their belief that Asquith could no longer with any public advantage retain the Premiership, but declaring their readiness to act with him in any other ministerial capacity he cared to assume. This letter Asquith altogether misunderstood, interpreting it as an ultimatum demanding his withdrawal from office. On the day of the great crisis the Tories met their leader at the Foreign Office and the Liberals assembled in Downing Street, and Curzon was deputed to go over to the Prime Minister and explain to him what was

really meant. The interview was marked with great cordiality, and Asquith indicated his readiness to reconsider the position. On returning, however, to his own friends, Lloyd George, who had expressed himself very freely at the earlier stages of the discussion, declared it was now too late to retrace their steps, and Asquith thereupon announced his decision to tender his immediate resignation.

The Armistice in the Balkan theatre seems to have anticipated what might have been one of the most signal triumphs of the war, as, a few days before it was dictated from Paris, the French General Franchet d'Esperey had announced that he should be in Prague by the beginning of December and expected to spend Christmas at Dresden. He had written, moreover, urging the Italians by that time to have occupied Munich.

Troubridge had passed a few days at Fiume, where the position was very strained. The Italians were spoiling for a row, and only kept at heel by the English and French. The Jugo-Slav claim to Dalmatia has, he says, no naval menace to Italy, but her statesmen seem to have lost their heads since the unlooked-for success that crowned the last episode of the campaign. President Wilson, in saying good-bye to Sonnino, referred to the pretensions of Italy with some humour: "I would like to give you New York," he said, "which is the most Italian city I know." Eighty thousand American women are said to have applied for transport to Paris immediately after the Armistice; some thousands have got there at various times on the plea of war work, but they do nothing but crowd the hotels and cafés, to the great inconvenience of those who are obliged to be in the city. So gross is the scandal that the American authorities are considering means for the compulsory expatriation of a large number.

*February 5th.*—By good fortune the King was in London to-day for the Guards Memorial Service at St. Paul's, which enabled a Council to be held at the urgent call of the Home Office to provide means, under the Defence of the Realm Act, to frustrate the threat of the electricians to plunge London in darkness to-morrow evening. The situation was aggravated by the fact that some million carcases were in cold storage and would have become putrid if the electric current had failed for forty-eight hours. The possibility of having to dispose of that mass of putrefaction was enough to appal the imagination. The most ugly part of the business is that these men had no grievance of their own, but were ready to use their powers to compel the Government to surrender to Bolshevism in Belfast and Glasgow. Shortt, the Home Secretary, who attended the Council, told me that the most elaborate arrangements had been made, whereby the power stations could be kept at work for a few hours, within which trained electricians, drawn from naval and military depots,

would be distributed throughout London, to be lodged, fed, and protected until the strike was at an end. The use of military lorries was also to be brought into operation to diminish as far as possible the arrest of business from the stoppage of the Tubes and other underground railways.

My daughter and I dined with the Haldanes in spite of the weather, which had caused everyone else to make excuse. The dinner and champagne were excellent, and Haldane was most interesting in a long sequence of reflections. He was very proud of a letter from Haig since the Armistice, declaring that, but for the work he did at the War Office, the early stages of the war must have ended in irremediable disaster. He believed that history will do justice to the extent of the preparations he was able to make without exciting the apprehensions of Germany, which might have precipitated the conflict and caught all the Allies in a state of unreadiness. There was also, in his opinion, the chance of coming to terms with the pacific elements in Germany represented by the growing ascendancy of the Social Democrats: a process the military party sought to arrest by drawing the sword.

*February 8th.*—The Malmesburys and Desart came to luncheon.

*February 10th.*—After prolonged agitation and uncertainty, the Council, which had been fixed for 10.45 this morning, was postponed to 6 p.m., to give time for the preparation of the King's Speech. The original draft sent by Ministers here to Lloyd George in Paris had been discarded by the Prime Minister, and a revise substituted which had been drafted in a great hurry under his immediate supervision and not without marks of his eager and flamboyant spirit. A certain amount, therefore, of checking and pruning was inevitable and the final result was not in my hands till a quarter of an hour before the Council, and then not in the prescribed *format*. However, these oversights of the ministerial workshop in Downing Street are viewed indulgently in the highest quarters, and no comment was made on the scrubby pieces of blue paper submitted for the royal signatures. Stamfordham had asked me to summon the Prime Minister, as the King was to see him afterwards, and Curzon, Crawford, Bonar Law, Sinha, and Sir R. Horne (to be sworn) completed the list. Lloyd George had taken on, both in appearance and deportment, a weight and dignity that show he is not insensible to the gravity of the times and the vast importance of his charge. I had seen Horne in the morning at Montagu House, where he was cowering near a big stove in a large and imperfectly warmed room. We had an illuminating talk on the Labour troubles, in which he was immersed, though by his own description he had wriggled like a transfixed eel to get out of the situation; but the Prime Minister would take no refusal, and, I think, so far it is another

instance of the latter's perspicacity in the choice of instruments. At least Horne gave me the distinct impression of bringing a very cool and critical intelligence to the discharge of his task.

The King's Speech, though marred by some sign of composite and hurried workmanship, is a notable document, and, as a review of the domestic situation, should go far to remove from the minds of the industrial classes that those in power wish to go back to pre-war conditions. From beginning to end it is almost an indignant repudiation of any such intent, and instinct with the desire not only to formulate but to accomplish a large measure of social regeneration: a result, however, that can only be achieved by patience, confidence, and restraint.

*March 6th.*—I had a dinner last night at the Travellers' for Willingdon, and asked Hall, Lamington, and Desart to meet him. Hall, released from the obligations of secrecy, was full of interesting information as to his career at the Admiralty, described recently by Lloyd George as one of the most brilliant pages in the story of the war, and gave Willingdon a very complete account of the steps taken to counteract German intrigue in India, of which, of course, he had gauged the effect at the other end without knowing how the strings had been pulled here. Willingdon told me afterwards that nothing could have surpassed the insight and promptitude with which a very dangerous situation had been handled, and Hall's revelations had illuminated all the dark places. After dinner Hall told Lamington and me something of his methods, of which perhaps the most striking and successful features were the lightning rapidity and unerring skill with which he selected his instruments, never troubling to see a man twice before he decided after a day's reflection whether he was the proper agent for the work in hand. One of his greatest exploits appears to have been the acquisition of an immense quantity of wheat from South America in the face of the most determined German competition. Of 2,000,000 tons, only 5,000 were lost in transmission to this country. The *coup* was only brought off by a most daring use of secret service funds, for the expenditure of which the Treasury, with characteristic humour, asked for vouchers!

*March 19th.*—Two notable figures have passed away in Theresa Lady Londonderry and George Russell. The first had great force and untiring energy in the pursuit of her aims, but for one gifted with such resource, she could only claim a very limited success for the causes she espoused. Her greatest achievements were personal.

George Russell had an austere and cloistered virtue, great as were his social endowments. I enjoyed his friendship for forty years without ever reaching a full comprehension of what he found in the Anglican Church to inspire so much genuine devotion.

*March 25th.*—I saw Shortt this morning, whose views on the whole were reassuring on the chance of a strike. Of course the railway men held the key to the situation, but with so much at stake for the other parties to the alliance, he did not think that, with all their present truculence, they would in the last resort proceed to extremities. He paid a tribute to Thomas's efforts.

With a view to the supposed imminence of a Council on Saturday or Sunday, the Treasury furnished me with a revision—the third—of their proposals in relation to capital issues, which I insisted on seeing. It still struck me as marked by a spirit of fretful interference; but, before I had considered what to do, I learnt that a fourth change of front had been made, this time a complete *volte-face*, and the regulation would now give the greatest freedom possible. Surely a curious display of feebleness and vacillation!

*March 28th.*—At last the capitulation of the Chancellor of the Exchequer was recorded in a final order on the subject of capital issues, complete freedom being allowed for home use.

The Council consisted of Curzon, Sandhurst, Schreiner, and Sir J. Rose-Innes, Chief Justice of the Union of South Africa. Lord Justice Atkin was sworn: he has made a high reputation as a criminal Judge, and is therefore a great loss to the High Court. He gives the impression of a very keen and watchful intelligence. Rose-Innes's daughter is married to the heir of the Moltkes, a grandson of the great Field-Marshal and a nephew of him who was Chief of the Staff at the beginning of the war. His visit to Europe is mainly concerned with getting his grandchildren out of Silesia, where the conditions are very disturbed, and he is proceeding there next week in the hope of meeting them. He had much that was interesting to say on the political situation in South Africa: the result of the Autumn Election was bound, he thought, to strengthen the nationalist followers of Hertzog, but it would have the advantage of forcing Smart into closer co-operation with Botha, if it did not bring about a complete identification in the aims of the loyal Dutch and the so-called British Party.

*April 9th.*—At dinner last night with Julia Lady Tweeddale, we met the Duchess of St. Albans, Melba, Lady St. Helier, Lalaing, the Gilbert Parkers, H. Samuelson, and E. F. Benson. Melba was accorded almost royal honours, which seemed superfluous even as the prize of either aspect of her high calling. She has grown large. She bore the Cross of St. John of Jerusalem, which she told some American had been given her by the King. "What," he said, "the King of Jerusalem?" I never met a more persistent obscurantist than the Duchess of St. Albans; her mind is a prey to every prejudice and apprehension. In this spirit she looked upon the changes of the world: everything that

threatened her complacency or disturbed the incrustations of custom could be conveniently banned as Bolshevism. The first thing she told me was that Belgium, as she had learnt from someone recently there, was on the verge of the abyss, which struck me with some surprise, seeing that Lalaing, who had just returned after some weeks in the country, had given me quite a different impression. I ventured to suggest that perhaps her informant was not to be treated with implicit confidence, only to be overwhelmed by a torrent of sombre ratiocination. The same persons who, a few months ago, were satisfied that we could not win the war, are now concentrating all the resources of their pessimism on the prospect of social upheaval.

*April 15th.*—At a Council this morning a charter of incorporation was granted to the Church in Wales. As the Archbishop of Canterbury had moved Sandhurst to tell me he wished to attend in Council, I had seized the opportunity to offer him a summons, only to find that he had other engagements. Curzon, Donoughmore, M. de Bunsen, and F. Ponsonby present. An hour or two later I was informed that the Prime Minister had come from Paris red-hot for a proposal to prohibit, under a Defence of the Realm Regulation, the publication of any statement about the terms of peace. Happily Bonar Law had the instinct to detect danger in such a step, the Parliamentary Counsel had grave doubts as to its validity, and the Home Office were very lukewarm: consequently I trust the project may yet be frustrated. It came out, curiously enough, that Curzon, whose Department would ministerially be responsible for the issue of the Order, had never been consulted.

The text [1] of the proposal, which I now have, does not diminish my objection: in the end it was not proceeded with.

*April 28th.*—I had a letter from the Archbishop of Canterbury conveying a polite indication of his wishes to act with us in any plans we had for the appointment of a Public Thanksgiving on the Proclamation of Peace. The latter event, I pointed out, was not to be expected until after the Ratifications had been exchanged and the Thanksgiving Proclamation would be issued *pari passu*. I also sent him a draft of the proposed document with my reasons for incorporating in one instrument the royal wishes for the whole United Kingdom. Hitherto Scotland had been treated separately,

[1] The following regulation shall be inserted after Regulation 27 A:

"27 AB. Until the Peace preliminaries are signed, it shall not be lawful for any person in any newspaper, periodical, circular, or other printed publication, or in any public speech, to publish any report of, or to purport to describe or to refer to, the terms of Peace proposed or about to be proposed by the representatives of His Majesty's Government and the Governments of His Majesty's Allies or any of them, except such report thereof as may be officially communicated through any Government Department.

"If any person contravenes this regulation he shall be guilty of an offence against these regulations."

for the maintenance of which practice there seemed to be no sufficient reason, and its abandonment offered an opportunity for giving the tenor of the whole, while adhering as far as possible to the phrasing of the past, a somewhat more modern character.

*April 29th.*—I have had some talk with one who is back from Paris, and drew from him a somewhat unreserved expression of his own views as to the proceedings of the principal figures in the Conference. The prevailing characteristic of Wilson, Lloyd George, and even of Clemenceau, is, according to him, an impatience of facts, largely born of ignorance, and a determination to accept none which do not square with their own desire to win a superficial success at the cost of leaving open any number of unheeded sores. From the day when the proposal to resolve themselves into an inner Council of Four was accepted, their passion for *a priori* thinking and short-sighted judgments has been unrestrained, and every decision has borne the marks of haste and inconsequence, leading up to Wilson's final act of frenzied precipitation.

My friend shook his head gloomily over the prospects peace would open to the society of duped peoples, and predicted the inevitable germination of fresh wars and causes of war, with nothing but the slender defence of the "League of Nations." That League was an effective bit of stage scenery calculated to withdraw attention from the mean and illusory achievement of peace, and in that capacity was probably doing all that it was likely to achieve for the present.

*May 2nd.*—Hylton had a large dinner (forty-four) at Claridge's last night, nominally to welcome the return of the officers of the Yeomen of the Guard from active service. Five of them were present; some thirty Peers, including the Lord Chancellor, and a few others. I sat between Harcourt and Faber, both pleasant enough and quick to view things from different angles. Faber's estimates of the future were most desponding.

At luncheon Rawlinson spoke with much regret of French's determination to be first out with an authoritative account of the early stages of the war in France and Flanders. It is a want of reticence already censured in Jellicoe, and certainly a new departure for the leaders of both Services. Rawlinson was surprised to hear that French had given prominence to the refusal of the War Office to let him have Plumer upon Grierson's sudden death, which may be the reason that there was some want of concord from the first between him and Smith-Dorrien.

James Dunlop Smith, whom I met in the afternoon, is not sorry to be out of Paris, and does not seem to have enjoyed the atmosphere of the Hôtel Majestic: at any rate, he has had enough of it for the present. He commented on the insignificance to which the Foreign Office had been reduced by the concentration

of the interest of the Conference in the hands of the Four. Arthur Balfour is too great, and philosophically too indifferent, to mind it; but Hardinge and his principal assistants smart under the negligible status to which they have been reduced. Dunlop Smith is satisfied that, on the whole, this country has come very well out of the ordeal, both in respect of the results achieved and the reputation gained. Our representatives had one great advantage over the rest, that they came to Paris with the problem in most of its ramifications well thought out and with plans more or less complete and properly documented for its treatment.

He had one rather nice story illustrative of Clemenceau's wit. A diligent study of the English newspapers brought to his notice the interest taken in this country to arrest venereal disease, as to which he asked for some explanation from Arthur Balfour, who told him of the recent Royal Commission under Lord Sydenham and the feeling it had stirred that the close of the war offered a great opportunity for dealing with it effectually. "Ah, mon cher Balfour," he replied, "je comprends; it is to make the *demi-monde* safe for democracy."

*May 6th.*—I have had a correspondence with the Archbishop upon the terms of the Proclamation appointing a Service of Thanksgiving upon the exchange of the Peace Ratifications, and have been fortunate in meeting his views upon the Church of England's concern in the matter. Indeed, he was good enough expressly to acknowledge "the eourtesy and help which, as always, you give us in these matters."

The position has been complicated by the decision to have but one Proclamation for the whole United Kingdom. However, I have found the Scottish Ecclesiastical authorities equally accommodating, for, upon sending to Lord Balfour a copy of the draft for information upon the terms in which reference, if any, should be made to the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, I got from him and the Moderator, who chanced to be in London on Sunday, the assurance that the document had their approval. Their combined wisdom could only suggest its amendment by the substitution of a semicolon for a comma!

*May 8th.*—A Council at 12.30, for several routine matters, including Proclamations for Bank Holidays in Sheffield and Birmingham respectively on the occasion of visits of the King the week after next. A burial order was passed providing for the burial of Miss Cavell's body within the precincts of Norwich Cathedral. Crawford took Curzon's place, and Farquhar, Southborough, and Colebrooke were present. We had luncheon with the Duchess of Grafton; Albemarle, Lady Cassilis, and Colonel and Mrs. Watt were there. The latter turned out to be a niece of Lord French, who perhaps wisely disclosed her identity when I began to talk of his journalistic indiscretions. However, both

she and her husband were as outspoken as any of us in the condemnation of the enterprise; indeed, Colonel Watt said that when he left his staff, a few months ago, the project had, he thought, been abandoned.

*May 30th.*—At the Council this morning Shortt took the place of the Lord President and Auckland Geddes was sworn President of the Board of Trade, Somerleyton and Fritz Ponsonby completing the attendance. I heard from Stamfordham yesterday intimating His Majesty's wish that an Order in Council should be passed giving the Speaker precedence after the Lord President. Hitherto matters of this sort have been determined by Royal Warrant, and a Committee that considered the subject (Edmund Talbot, chairman, Sandhurst, Asquith, Lord Cave, and Garter) recommended that this should be done on the present occasion. However, it was not for me to demur, and I was only careful to give the Order a form that escaped the criticism which has been directed against the Warrant, and I hope the matter will there be allowed to rest. The Committee also proposed that the Speaker should be placed before the Lord President, but to this Curzon, as I think rightly, objected. I pointed out to him that his office enjoyed its present precedence under the Act of 31 Henry VIII, i.e. for nearly 400 years, and that it would be obviously improper for the Speaker to enjoy an honorific status superior to the President of the Council.

Shortt told me they were thoroughly prepared to deal with the threats of the Police Force: an intimation would be issued to-night that any man absent from duty would lose his position and forfeit his pension without chance of reinstatement, and, though he believed a strike would take place, he should be surprised if half the Force were parties to it. It was time, indeed, that the question of union dictation should be brought to an issue; Macready was spoiling for a strike, and he believed the result would purge the body of its mischievous element, and every arrangement had been made for filling up its number and utilising a large force of Special Constables with security from attack.

I told Shortt Lord Morley's opinion that the Law Office in Dublin, as an instrument of government, was the weakest institution in the world, and he agreed that there was a good deal of truth in the description. He would like to see the coming vacancy filled by Sullivan, the ablest man by far at the Irish Bar, but he feared counter-influences would be too strong. Failing him, Wylie was the best choice at the disposal of the Government, but he was not a Catholic, and without the brilliance of the other.

*June 25th.*—The Council this morning coincided with the Encænia at Oxford, so Shortt again took Curzon's place. Addison attended to be sworn Minister of Health, and an Order in Council

was passed bringing the new Ministry into existence on July 1st. Without entering upon his task in any spirit of confident dogmatism, Addison is hopeful, and has some measure of inspiration behind him. With the aid of Morant's energy and the torch of G. Newman's illumined intelligence, he ought to do well.

I saw Eric Drummond and congratulated him with real goodwill on his having shouldered, like some modern Atlas, the burden of civilisation. He is satisfied with Geneva as the theatre of the League's activities, though not sorry to have it provisionally established here for the next three months. The Americans, it appears, are playing up in a manner hardly to be expected from the displays of hostility in certain centres of political influence, and he spoke with emphasis of the very lively interest and support which France was giving. She has come to recognise, with true logical insight, that her future security is bound up with the fortunes of the League. Its operative functions are so incorporated into the tissues of the Treaty that the failure of the League would create an irreparable breach in the correlation and coherence of the other's structure.

I dined with Lady Vera Herbert and Lady Margaret Duckworth. Lady Stanhope, Aubrey Herbert and his wife, Lord Justice Duke, Admiral Sir Charles Browning, Francis Curzon and Lady Carew. I was next Mrs. Herbert, whom I had never met before and liked immensely. She has great charm, and much of what she says is touched with a rare thoughtfulness, which is not obscured by a somewhat whimsical turn of manner. It is forty-eight years ago, my first season in London, that I remember her mother, certainly the loveliest girl that was to be seen in the ballrooms of that distant epoch.

*June 26th.*—I had luncheon with Lady Jersey to meet Miss Gertrude Bell, who has returned from a long spell of activity in the Orient during the war. She was in Bagdad at the time of Joe Maude's death, and was present at the repast two days before at which he is supposed to have contracted the fatal cholera germ. He was really worn out with cares civil and military; one of those men with an untiring faculty to do everything for themselves and keep their own counsel. No one ever worked harder or with a more consummate insight into the needs of the occasion. As an instance of omnivorous capacity, she said one of his first acts at Bagdad was to prescribe a close time for shooting partridges.

Miss Bell had an intimate knowledge of Colonel Lawrence, the warrior statesman who stood behind the Arab hosts. In Egypt before the war he had been associated with her in some archæological investigations, when she had come to realise his extraordinary affinity, acquired it seemed in the British Museum, with Arab modes of thought. More than half his influence with them

lay in this recondite source of sympathy which answered to some primitive call of the blood. Indeed, his healing for a world death-sick of the maladies of civilisation is to return to the simple social organisation of the desert: a doctrine which, however easy to preach in the region between the Levant and the Gulf of Persia, is not suited to the sophisticated world of notes and protocols.

*June 30th.*—A fine character has passed away in William Schreiner. Modest and unassuming, he had the instinct of integrity and a veritable passion for righteous dealing. His political career had somewhat effaced the recollections of his brilliance as a lawyer, which his South African contemporaries deemed his most enduring title to fame. Indeed, there was some talk of his returning to the legal profession as Chief Justice, should Rose-Innes retire.

The sapient conclusions of the Peace Celebration Committee, over which Curzon presided, have been upset by the wiser counsels of the King and the Prime Minister. It was obviously the right thing to take the moment of popular enthusiasm for a common and general act of thanksgiving, and to that end provide for its immediate expression; whereas, to wait to August 3rd would have made the whole thing flat and perfunctory. I was pleased accordingly, at four o'clock, to be asked by Stamfordham to meet him and the Archbishop forthwith in the House of Lords, to mature plans for a Council to-morrow at which the Peace and Thanksgiving Proclamations might be approved and the Thanksgiving fixed for the ensuing Sunday. Happily I had everything ready, the final form to suit the Dominions having been given to the instrument a day or two ago.

*July 1st.*—The Council duly took place, in the presence of the Lord President, the Archbishop of Canterbury, Farquhar, Stamfordham, and Mr. Duff, a Judge of the Supreme Court of Canada, who attended to be sworn after *appointment* in January last. I was glad to get the Thanksgiving Proclamation over, as I had been much troubled at the last moment by the ill-advised importunity of a meticulous pedant in the Colonial Office, who ought to go through the world with a millstone inscribed "Precedent" round his neck.

*July 5th.*—I received from Harry Verney, the Queen's Private Secretary, a very gratifying acknowledgment of the step I took in sending him, for Her Majesty's gracious disposal, the Commission under the Great Seal, passed at the time of the King's accident, empowering her to hold Councils in his behalf. The occasion for her doing so never as a matter of fact arose, but the instrument had a special constitutional value, in that it conferred wider powers than had ever been contained in any similar Act of State of which there was authentic record. The grace and urbanity of the

communication certainly justifies the Queen's choice of a Private Secretary.

"Buckingham Palace,
"*July 4th*, 1919.

"My dear Almeric,

"I am commanded by the Queen to write and express to you Her Majesty's very sincere thanks for the Commission under the Great Seal dated November 10th, 1915.

"Her Majesty wishes me to say that she is most grateful to you for giving her the opportunity to possess the Commission. This document, its beautiful Seal and box, will always be treasured by the Queen, and Her Majesty is not likely to forget the interest which attaches to their origin, or the significance of this Act of State, of which you remind Her Majesty in your letter to me.

"Believe me,
"Yours always,
"Harry L. Verney."

*July 6th.*—At the Peace Thanksgiving in St. Paul's I was accompanied by Mrs. Adeane, and assuredly there was no more sympathetic and appreciative witness of the great rite. The prelude on the western steps, happily conccived and worthily executed, reached us like the remote echo of some sonorous introit; but in the progress up the nave, much of the spectacular effect of which the building is so compact was lost by the poverty of the musical accompaniment, which should have announced a triumphal march with full orchestral accessories. It is a pity, too, that the choir had not been trained to give the *Te Deum* in the Latin text. However, up to and including the Archbishop's allocution, the course of the service satisfied expectation: thence it fizzled out in a large number of rather dreary collects, not one of which struck the imagination as the eall to divine comprehension of man's emotion at a great crisis of his moral being. It is strange that no one can be moved to write a good prayer, succinct in form and with a poignancy of meaning such as the men of the sixteenth century found ready to their lips. One general petition, touched by the ancient inspiration, would have served the purpose better and brought the office within the limits of the assigned hour; whereas, it was spread by tiresome reiteration over a full ninety minutes. The sun was shining at the exit, and the vast concourse gathered within and without the mighty basilica dissolved in an atmosphere of subdued and, I trust, thoughtful exultation. A new meaning might then have been read into the memorial of the great architect: "Si monumentum requiris, circumspice."

*July 14th.*—My daughter and I spent Sunday at Wakefield,[1]

[1] The Northamptonshire seat of the Duke of Grafton.

which, in view of its coming alienation, I was very glad to do, as I had never seen it in the summer and had no clear perception of its beauty. Forest country has always its peculiar charm, and the long vistas and open spaces the house commands give a wonderful grace to the enfolding woods. The house contains some pictures and other objects of great value, apart from the strong family interest that attaches to many of them.

I had the first opportunity of seeing Cope's picture of the old Duke, a presentation on his ninetieth birthday: it is hung in a delightful eighteenth-century drawing-room, with four Hoppners, a Reynolds and a Romney, and does not come badly out of the comparison. Besides the celebrated picture of the Waldegrave Lady Euston, Hoppner's art is represented with great delicacy and distinction in a portrait of Lady Elizabeth FitzRoy, own sister of my grandfather, a really most remarkable example of the painter's talent in bringing out the subtle gift of personality.

*July 19th.*—I saw Julian Byng last night, who had much that was interesting to say of those conspicuous men, Lord Northcliffe, the Prime Minister, and Winston Churchill. The first, who had stayed with him more than once at the Front, in his opinion narrowly missed greatness owing to an instability of purpose, born of mental impatience, approaching chronic fretfulness. Thus, he will take up a thing with intense fervour and real effectiveness, only to throw it aside as soon as his interest evaporates. While, however, the fever is on him, Byng believes him to be perfectly sincere. He thought nothing could rob the Prime Minister of the honour belonging to the man who had won the way by his tense energy and singleness of aim, and he also described him as alone among politicians in not only listening to the call for action, but throwing all his activities into its accomplishment; Asquith's genius lying rather in his ingenuity to find reasons for inaction.

Winston he esteemed very highly, subject to the peril he became to himself and others when he surrendered himself to dreams of strategy. He is alive to the fact that his military adventures in Russia have not been a conspicuous success, and he is seeking means to extricate himself from the knot. He has the great gift of placing his confidence unreservedly, and, in a task he has asked Byng to undertake, has given him complete freedom of method and a free choice of instruments.

The march through London was a notable success: a fine morning, correct decorative embellishments, and popular enthusiasm, combined to produce a grandiose spectacle, and one, moreover, inseparable from deeper emotions than the mere hour called forth, for, before and around those who defiled under our eyes, there went an immaterial company, the sacred legion of the lost, who had purchased our safety with their blood.

*July 23rd.*—We attended a great banquet the Curzons gave, nominally to the Ex-King Manoel and Queen Augusta, but it became largely a compliment to America, as it included General Pershing, the American Ambassador and Mrs. Davis, Colonel and Mrs. House, and one or two others. Among the rest were the Spanish Ambassador and Madame Merry del Val, the Duchess of Portland, Soveral, the Granvilles, Crawford, Revelstoke, Buckmaster, Sir D. and Lady Beatty, Fritz and Lady Ponsonby, Sir M. and Lady Cheetham, and W. Tyrrell. Dinner was served in the magnificent ballroom, hung with fine pictures, extending the whole width of the house, in which the company of thirty-four were easily accommodated at two round tables. I sat between Granville and Lady Ponsonby. Before dinner I had made acquaintance with Pershing, and after the ladies left I talked to Beatty. The first, at close quarters, struck me as superior to his reputation; the second came up to my expectations, a man of sane outlook and the soul of decision.

In the great drawing-room afterwards Curzon and Lady Curzon proved themselves admirable hosts, not too prominent, but everywhere felt. I talked to Lady Granville for some time, whose life in Greece has not been altogether *couleur de rose*; dietetic discomforts have been rife, and the legation naturally suffers when a small society like Athens is split into two irreconcilable sections, from the influence of one of which, though he is the nominee of the other, the King and his *entourage* are by no means free. On the whole, he seems entitled to the credit of trying to do his best, but he will never make for himself a position of any mark. Later, when I was talking to Crawford, Lady Curzon came up and drew us to some seats, where I remained in conversation with the two for the remainder of the evening. Lady Curzon has a charm of manner and social tact it was a pleasure to encounter. While quite at her ease, there was a touch of diffidence in her *allure* which had a decided savour of grace.

*August 4th.*—The pageant on the Thames, which we saw from Julia Lady Tweeddale's house on Chelsea Embankment, was fairly effective when seen in a long perspective, but it had not been arranged with due regard to the amplitude of its theatre, and, as a procession, lacked mass and colour: the distance traversed led to loss of the proper intervals, and thus made breaks in the sequence which robbed it of all processional effect. The incongruity of steam and manual propulsion in one column also proved a set-back to spectacular impressiveness, particularly as some of the tugs were very squalid and ignoble craft. However, the immense mass of spectators appeared to enjoy the scene thoroughly and to appreciate the magnificence of the setting.

*August 6th.*—Dunlop Smith shed some interesting light upon

the machinery of the Paris Conference, so far as this country's part was concerned. He confirmed all I had heard of the relegation of our Foreign Office to a place in the remote background. The work of the English section devolved upon three men, all associated with the War Cabinet. Maurice Hankey, of course, came first in authority and weight of influence, but the personality of his two most intimate associates deserves careful note: one, a man of Italian blood, who was sent from India, where he served in the Forestry Department, in response to a call from the War Cabinet for the ablest man they could lay hands on, while the third bore the name de Abraham, a member of the Indian Civil Service, of indubitable Semitic ancestry. No one, after that, can complain that the British Government is not eclectic in its choice of instruments; but the facts do excite some scruples of feeling, whether the aboriginal product is always afforded sufficient opportunity to have his worth tested.

*August* 16*th.*—Stamfordham appealed to me on the terms of a Proclamation promoted by the Ministry for the establishment of a Roll, to be called the King's Roll, of employers who were willing to give special assistance to disabled men in their respective spheres of employment. The Archbishop apparently had also worked upon the King's scruples respecting the form of invocation to ministers of religion to read the Proclamation on four successive Sundays in their churches and chapels. The Proclamation had come to me on the assurance of the Ministry of Labour that it had all been settled between the King and Horne, with the approval of Bonar Law. It was impossible to get hold of Horne, so I saw Stamfordham and settled with him, after reference to the Archbishop by telephone, to alter the wording so as to leave the clergy a larger latitude in the interpretation of their obligation, for which the Archbishop expressed himself grateful. It was further arranged that, as it was not proposed to issue the Proclamation till the middle of next month, approval should be provisional.

There is no doubt a disposition on the part of the ordinary ex-soldier to look with jealousy upon the preferment of disabled men to positions to which they, who are not in receipt of any pension, think themselves better entitled.

*August* 18*th.*—A Council was held to-day before the King's departure in the evening, at which a large body of business was transacted. Besides the Proclamation in question, Geddes was sworn Minister of Transport, Lord Lee of Fareham appointed President of the Board of Agriculture, and he, Lytton, Peel, R. Paget, and E. Howard sworn Privy Councillors; Francis Villiers, who was not in England, being appointed.

It is not a little remarkable that Peel is the eighth member of his family in three generations to be called to the Privy Council,

while he, Lytton, and R. Paget were each the third Privy Councillors in direct lineal descent.

I took the opportunity of showing the Proclamation, which had been so much debated, to Geddes, who thought it could do no harm and might do some good.

*August 24th.*—I had not been at Hedsor for more than a few hours when I received a pressing letter from Stamfordham asking whether it was necessary that the King's consent under the Royal Marriages Act should be given to the marriage of Princess Helena of Cambridge. The King's Proctor, who is drawing the special licence, had already, with curious infelicity, raised the question at the Home Office, whom I satisfied at once, so that its revival at Balmoral seems unaccountable. The point is perfectly clear, as the Duke of Teck was not a British subject at the date of his marriage, and the issue of Princess Mary of Cambridge are thus excluded by the express terms of the statute.

*August 26th.*—I explored Beaconsfield Church with the Hyltons, and stood above the ashes of Burke. Waller rests in the churchyard under a very heavy and tasteless erection. The village, or town, is very attractive, occupying, with buildings picturesque and distinctive in character, the four arms of a broad cross.

I had ten days at Hedsor, which were both restful and agreeable, with excursions on either hand to Clieveden and Dropmore. The contents of the latter are very interesting to the student of the age of the Grenvilles and their Pitt connections. At Clieveden I saw a picture by Lely of the second (Villiers) Duke of Buckingham, quite the finest of those attributed to that master.

*September 7th.*—I spent Sunday at Penn, with Lady Howe and Lady Bristol. The House is in the heart of the wooded zone of the Chilterns, a hilly country with the added charm of forest scenery. The older parts of the structure exhibit some interesting brickwork, and more recent enlargements have preserved the internal features which render the house attractive. The pictures are mainly of the Penn family, a singularly unprepossessing lot; but there is much good furniture, and an exceptionally large number of mirrors, which, for their beauty and wide area of origin, might well entitle the house to be called the House of Mirrors. At eighty-seven Lady Howe evinced marvellous vitality and a very keen intelligence.

*September 9th.*—Having luncheon with George Buchanan today, I asked whether he was disposed to tell me what he knew to justify or explain Henderson's recent disclosures. There were, he said, three elements in the problem:

1. The view of the Foreign Office, which was strongly in favour of his retention of the Embassy.

2. The view of the War Cabinet, which was genuinely anxious to confer with him, and also desirous to give him the holiday of

which he stood in need : they had, too, at the back of their minds the possibility of his withdrawal and the substitution of a man whose antecedents might make him more congenial to the Revolutionary Government.

3. There were, further, the ideas of the Prime Minister, which may have gone beyond the formal decisions of the War Cabinet, and these may have been expressed in conversation with Henderson in terms that flattered the belief in his powers extending to the replacement of the Ambassador.

Thus, on the whole, he thinks that Mr. Henderson did not in his speech at Widnes go beyond what he believed to be the case. George Buchanan was given to understand that Henderson was to stay for a fortnight in a purely tentative function, after which, if he felt able to fill the position of Envoy, he was to remain at least for six months, so as to give George Buchanan an opportunity to return to England and advise the Cabinet on the situation. Buchanan had himself no doubt that, if this programme was carried out, he would not return; but there was nothing said to suggest this issue. Henderson very soon found that he was out of his depth, and utterly powerless for good : his talents were quite unfit for such a job. Prince Lvow, the first Prime Minister of the Provisional Government, strongly protested against the arrangement, and Mr. Henderson had the good sense to see that George Buchanan was no reactionary and had a very salutary influence with the revolutionary party, besides enjoying the confidence of others. It was quite clear that Mr. Henderson believed in the extent of his own commission, as the evening before his departure, after dining at the Embassy, while in conversation with Lady Georgiana, he suddenly laughed. "What is the joke, Mr. Henderson ?" she said ; whereupon he replied : "Well, the funny thing is, you ought to be going away, not I."

The vagueness of his instructions may have given considerable scope for misapprehension, and Mr. Henderson's sensitiveness, which is near the surface, did the rest.

*September* 13*th*.—At Heron Court for ten days, I came in for the Congress of the British Association at Bournemouth. Sir Oliver Lodge, Sir Alfred Ewing, Principal of the University of Edinburgh, and Dr. Dixie, of Wadham, Oxford, Head of the Zoological Section, were staying in the house for the week, and Sir Robert Blair came down for one night. Charles Parsons' inaugural address on Science and the War was packed with interesting matter, from which some statistical tables might well have been omitted, as their delivery aggravated the ineffective use of a weak voice.

Later in the week I heard Sir A. Evans on the Cretan remains, which amounted to little more than a disjointed commentary on the pictures and diagrams thrown on the screen, and these were

*Photo by Bassano, Ltd.*, 38 *Dover Street, W.*

THE COUNTESS OF MALMESBURY.

announced through the medium of a series of vocal squeaks: indeed, I never heard a lecturer treat an audience with less respect. The following evening we were better served by Prof. Browne on the latest improvements in the gyroscopic compass, the effect of which in the late war was of conspicuous utility.

The house party proved a distinct social success, Lady Malmesbury contributing largely to that end: indeed, I never saw a woman, without any undue emphasis, deal so suavely and effectively with a company of intellectuals. Oliver Lodge is a striking and impressive figure, with the eyes of an *illuminé* and the smile of a humorist, while Ewing has more than a touch of the comedian mixed with graver elements.

*September 18th.*—I remained at Heron Court through the greater part of this week, as the rest in pleasant surroundings proved very refreshing. Amusements for the children were the most pressing preoccupation, with the exception of a visit from the members of a sylvicultural conference at Bournemouth, during which I picked up some useful information on the value of black poplar, which, it appears, offers a strong resistance to fire, and is therefore the best possible material for flooring.

On the last morning of my stay I went into Bournemouth early and sat for an hour overlooking an azure sea bedecked with a great sheet of shimmering sunlight and girt with a golden haze. These waters I know so well from years spent upon them yachting, and there was hardly a ripple upon their face that did not seem charged with some recollection. A summer sea is perhaps the greatest storehouse of almost forgotten memories which Nature has reserved for thought to dwell upon in moments of meditative absorption. Plotinus puts it profoundly in the observation: "The sensible world is a reflection of the spiritual world in the mirror of Nature."

*September 22nd.*—A Council was held at Balmoral to-day for the approval of certain Orders transferring necessary powers to the Ministry of Transport, and one or two other matters that could not conveniently be held over. The Duke of Connaught, Lord Sandhurst acting for the Lord President, and Stamfordham took part in it. I was happily relieved from attendance, and Clive Wigram specially appointed to perform my functions: a step which also saved the Treasury from unnecessary expense.

*October 4th.*—The pressure of the strike causes much vacillation in the Government on the propriety of calling Parliament together. A week ago I was asked to transmit to Balmoral the text of a Proclamation on the subject, which could then be filled up, if necessary, by telegraph; but nothing has, so far, been done. This morning, apparently moved thereto by hints appearing in the Press, an irregular meeting of the Cabinet considered the subject, and at one time it seemed possible that I should have to

lie in wait for the uncertain hour of His Majesty's arrival after 500 miles in a motor, and arrange for his tired consent to an immediate Council. However, sager counsels have prevailed, and the decision is postponed till Monday. Lloyd George was in favour, if it was to be done, of Monday the 13th, as the collocation was, he said, favourable to him. Winston, on the other hand, swore that nothing would induce him to consent, as Monday the 13th had been the day upon which Sir I. Hamilton had started for the Dardanelles, with the shock to Winston's reputation which followed! Such are the superstitions of the great!

*October 6th.*—I had tea with Lady Wemyss at the Mall House. Sir R. is about to leave the Admiralty, the only First Sea Lord who, since the war began, has left on his own motion. He appears to have found the office of late somewhat thankless, and to have been more moved than I should have expected by press hostility, which she, perhaps with a sound womanly instinct, attributes to certain influences. Moreover, the large reductions contemplated in naval establishments are not to his liking, though how they could be avoided is not very obvious. The interest of Lady Wemyss's conversation lies in the access she has to representatives of foreign opinion; but the value of her information, in spite of her natural acuteness, is somewhat discounted by her bias against the Foreign Office and its agents, ostensible or secret.

Lady Wemyss has some cause to pride herself on the way in which recent events have vindicated the soundness of her father's predictions. She thinks very highly of W. H. Dawson's book as a guide to the causes which were operating towards the supremacy of the war faction in Germany. The Emperor was sensible of having lost all control since the disclosure in the Law Courts connected with a memorable case had entirely undermined his moral authority. The hopes of Germany she believes to lie with men like Prince Max of Baden and a son of the Imperial Chancellor Hohenlohe, who has been in Switzerland throughout the war. Prince Max, she says, suffered from the calumnies of the English Press during the short episode of his Chancellorship, a forged letter having been produced in which he had described his liberal opinions as mere eyewash.

*October 9th.*—A Council this morning to clear off the accumulation created by the King's absence. Shortt took Curzon's place, who, after ten days in bed, was still too ill to be present. Horace Farquhar, George Buchanan, and Frank Villiers were present as well, the last-named to be sworn, his appointment having been made by Order some time ago. The King goes to Sandringham on Monday for a fortnight, so that schemes of reconstruction must wait. General convenience would be served by their postponement until the end of the Session, rather than on the eve of its resumption.

*October* 17*th*.—Roddie dined with us last night in an interval of one of his missions to Germany. He reports a peculiar subserviency of the Germans, offieial and personal, to people of British race clothed with the least authority. He checked the vapouring of the Finance Minister in Berlin upon the injustice of the provisions of the Treaty, by asking what *he* was doing, with his prodigality in one of the Imperial palaces, his gorgeous motor, and his retinue of five footmen, to ease the burden of the man in the street whose sufferings he professed to pity. The cur took the rebuke with the utmost servility, and was only the more obsequious in offering favours.

The man responsible for the execution of the sentence on Captain Fryatt (a typical German bully of the military caste and an intimate friend of Admiral von Schroeder, the drunken President of the Tribunal), sought an interview to protest against the charges made in " The Times " of his having accelerated Captain Fryatt's death and to give his own story of what occurred. The man was evidently in a state of abject terror at the impending punishment of himself and his truculent friend Schroeder, and could not disguise his fears. Roddie listened to what he had to say, and then remarked coldly that his account differed materially from the statements in " The Times." It was, it appeared, only to save Captain Fryatt's feelings that he hurried on the execution by ten minutes.

In passing through the neighbourhood of Lübeek and Hamburg, he was warned against the dangers due to marauding bands of Bolshevik sailors, who did not respect the authority of the Berlin Government. He had been provided with a passport in a German name as a person travelling in carpets, and had of course to doff his British uniform, which he did in a wood at the entrance of the disturbed area, rolling his staff, hat, and tunic in his waterproof. Sure enough, he was held up by three miscreants in the guise of armed sailors, who, accepting his character, were curious to know whether he had any food in excess of his own immediate wants, and searched his valise in vain. Just as he hoped the ordeal was over, one of them seized the bundle embraced by the waterproof and shook it, whenee out fell the hat and tunic. The situation at once became critical; he and his driver were both seized, when, by a sort of instinct, he shouted, " Souvenir ! " and, by dint of audacity and his consummate knowledge of German, he got them to believe it, though they were determined to share the plunder. With difficulty he induced them to leave his hat, but he had to sacrifice four buttons from the tunic and the badges on the shoulder-straps, glad indeed to buy liberty at so small a price.

Among others he had interviewed was the Ex-Duke of Coburg, who presented himself in most pitiable plight. He had no hope

of being restored to the respect of Englishmen, but sought to justify the telegram he sent repudiating his British ties on the ground that its terms were dictated to him as the only means by which he could revive the confidence of his subjects, and that, in signing it, he believed that he was sacrificing his dearest interests and affections to a sense of duty. His attitude was that of a broken man, appealing for pity as one whom the cruel accident of fate had separated from all he loved. There was no question about the man's mental and moral disarray, and Roddie, having given him letters from his mother and sister, the first he had for years, left him to their perusal.

*October 24th.*—The announcement that Arthur Balfour was to come to this office was hardly made before he arrived and spent nearly an hour in my room. He is, I am glad to say, to give himself energetically to the supervision of the Scientific and Industrial Research Department, and before he left I had fixed up for him a conference with Sir W. McCormick, the administrative chairman of the Advisory Council, and F. Heath, the secretary, for to-morrow at midday. He received me with all his old warmth and geniality, and I shall find in him a most welcome chief.

*October 28th.*—We went into the City to take part in the reception of Prince Albert[1] in the Guildhall on taking up his patrimonial freedom, and afterwards had luncheon at the Mansion House. I found opposite to me J. C. Bodley, who was with me, though of three years' later standing, at Balliol. I should not have recognised him had he not made himself known, as his features had increased in fulness and a rich colour mantled a face that had been pale. At least he has done something to interpret French thought, for which we should feel grateful as a necessary step towards the identification of the two peoples in mutual understanding. A life spent in eager intimacy with the best minds in France has amply equipped him for so high a task.

*October 29th.*—At the Council this morning the King declared Mr. Balfour Lord President of the Council, and Curzon received the seals of Secretary of State. A. J. B. thanked me for the lucid directions I had given him, and played his part with becoming dignity; Sandhurst and Fritz Ponsonby completed the attendance. Curzon had got hold of a curious notion that the Lord President, not being a Peer, had some particular precedence accorded, below Dukes but above the next order in the Peerage. I ventured to differ, though I admitted there was some doubt to be cleared up about his precise position.

*October 30th.*—Garter came to see me this morning and made it quite plain that the Statute 29 Henry VIII, while containing certain reserves upon the position of the Lord President in the

[1] Now Duke of York.

House of Lords, if he was not a Peer, laid down his general precedence in all other circumstances to be the same whether he was a Peer or not.

The Sandhursts came to luncheon to meet Sir G. Newman, whose social gifts are not far behind his medical eminence.

We had dinner with Lady St. Helier, when medicine was again prominent: Sir Almroth Wright, Sir C. Goodwin, Head of the A.M.S., and three American delegates to the Tuberculosis Congress being there; the Midletons, Adeline Duchess of Bedford, and one or two others made fifteen in all. The Americans were very generous in testifying to the value of medical work in England.

*November 12th.*—I celebrated my sixty-eighth birthday by a small dinner, at which the Charles Hoares, Dick Seymours, and St. George Caulfeild assisted. The date coincides with the completion of the first year of peace, but the events of that year hardly make for any large hopes for the future. We have all had at some time or another the desire to feel that we may leave the world better than we found it, but few of us perhaps realise it in any substantial form. All the same, it is the last hope I would willingly surrender. The line recurs to me, I think it is in Myers's "St. Paul," "God will forgive thee all but thy despair."

*November 24th.*—I saw Sir T. Walters and Sir C. Eliot this evening, to go over the ceremonial for their introduction to the Privy Council. The last-named's account of the operations in Siberia were ominous of the collapse of Koltchak's resistance, as he said his troops had been retiring for weeks without firing a shot; no inducement could make them stand up to the enemy. Denikin's army, he said, was in a different position, as it was largely officered by men who were property owners in the districts reconquered, and therefore with a strong personal interest in mantaining the efficacy of the forces.

*November 25th.*—Council at Buckingham Palace, 10.45. The Lord President arrived in very good time, and employed the interval in making himself exceedingly pleasant to the new Privy Councillors, Younger, Walters, and Eliot. The last he was particularly glad to see, and had some conversation with him on the situation in Eastern Russia. The Archbishop of Canterbury was present, as the formation of the See of Bradford was on the list of business, and had taken the trouble to come up from Canterbury on purpose. Horace Farquhar insisted on being there, in order to see Arthur Balfour in the Council-chamber, and F. Ponsonby made the fourth. The King gave the Lord President a long audience. Eliot had his reception afterwards to kiss hands on appointment as Ambassador to Japan. Lord Justice Younger and he had been at Balliol together, just ten years after me. I am indeed numbered with the old guard.

I had some talk with the Archbishop on Church legislation

under the Enabling Bill, and was glad to find that he was prepared, among the first steps, to deal drastically with the Pluralities Act, one of the most cumbrous and out-of-date cogs in the ecclesiastical machine.

*December 2nd.*—At dinner with Lady Jersey, I met Lady Saltoun, Alex and Lady Theo. Cadogan, the Geoffrey Dawsons, and one or two others. Arthur Villiers, whom I had not seen for years, was a very efficient host. I talked after dinner to Lady Theo. Cadogan, who proved very agreeable and intelligent.

*December 7th.*—On receiving an invitation to dine with Burdett-Coutts this evening, it seemed almost like a voice from the grave. However, on arrival we found our host remarkably well, and a party of fourteen to greet his recovery. I took in a sister of Lady Curzon, Mrs. Ambrose Dudley, the husband an English artillery officer. The lady was extremely pretty, and talked with an unpremeditated grace.

*December 18th.*—I saw Troubridge, the Admiral of the Danube, this afternoon, who has the important position of Pacificator of the lands included in his patrol. He is probably right in assuming that his absence for any long time would encourage the spirit of disturbance to raise its head. The plight of Hungary as to its food supplies is not for the moment so acute ; indeed, if you take a wide area into your survey, there is probably ample food for everyone within it ; but the breakdown of all transport creates huge difficulties in the way of distribution, and these are aggravated by political dissidences which militate against the adoption of any general scheme.

*December 19th.*—I have received a letter from Roddie in Berlin, giving a singularly vivid and direct impression of what is passing under his eyes. He depicts a society in a state of panic before its threatened dissolution, and I at once placed the letter in the hands of Mr. Balfour, who was so impressed by the poignancy of the situation it depicted that he arranged for its circulation to the Cabinet, and took the trouble to urge upon Maurice Hankey that this should be done in a way which would ensure the document's being read. Mr. Balfour told me there was nothing in the policy of the Government which could be described as vindictive, and they would be glad to recognise any sincere effort on the part of the German Executive to justify the confidence of the Allies in its integrity and good faith.

"Inter-Allied Commission of Control, Berlin,
"*December 14th*, 1919.

"Were I now in England I would use every endeavour, every argument, every scrap of influence I possess, to be able to place before the authorities the state of affairs in Germany, as I know it to be. But, as I am not in England, all I can do is to send what

I fear will be a very poorly expressed account of the situation, in the hope that you, who know me, may think it of sufficient importance to pass it to those who, because of your mediation, will consider that there may be something in it.

"The position is changing for the worse, and my firm and considered opinion and conviction is that this country is being ridden to ruin. It may be difficult for me to justify that statement on paper, and I sometimes feel that it is hopeless to attempt to make anyone, who does not know these people, who has not lived with them during the months since the revolution, who has not seen their alternating hope and despondency, and, at last, their blind despair, realise the danger of the utter collapse of which the country is on the verge.

"The Government is at its wits' ends. Noske said to me last night: 'We have the feeling that we are a drowning people, who, after thirteen months in the depths, are just able to hold on to the sides of the boat and keep our heads high enough to breathe —and then the *Entente* stamp with their feet on our hands and say to us: "Keep your dirty heads down: you belong to the depths, get back to them."'

"I am writing principally to you to-day about a meeting I had with the Germans last night.

"I suppose it is because they can talk to me without an interpreter, and, possibly, because my work here, off and on since January, has made me known to them, that I have met them as I have done. They know I am no politician, but they give me the credit of being straight.

"I was asked if I would consent to meet certain members of the Government last night, and agreed, provided that the meeting was to be absolutely unofficial. I explained that I had no authority to discuss anything, and that my job was simply that of a member of the Commission of Control.

"I went.

"We met at the house of von Holtzendorff, Ballin's successor. Noske, War Minister; Schäffer, Minister of Justice; General von Gröner, Ludendorff's successor after the latter's dismissal from G.H.Q.; Schwaden, the Oberpresident of Kassel (the illegitimate son of a Strassburg washerwoman and one of the soundest brains in Germany); Warburg, the Hamburg banker-financier; Dr. Melchior, who was the financial expert at the peace negotiations in Paris; von Holtzendorff, the head of the Hamburg-America Line, and myself. We had a short dinner, and talked afterwards till 1 a.m. These men, representing the different political parties, were especially chosen that I might not feel I was being influenced more in one direction than in another. It was extraordinarily impressive, and, I might almost say, tragic. They were fighting for their lives—for more than their lives—

fighting for the existence of seventy million people, for whom they knew themselves to be responsible. It was a *cri de cœur* that could not fail to impress—to convince. I was the straw at which they were clutching with a terrible last-despairing hope.

"I asked myself several times if I were not being fooled—if I was really being told what they thought, or only what they wanted me to believe they thought, and now, after many hours of cold deliberation, I am writing what I have long believed, and what I am now firmly convinced of.

"The collapse of the present Government means the utter collapse of Germany. The handing over of the officers for trial means the collapse of the Government. The Government *will not lift one finger* to hand over these officers. If they did, every member of the Government would hang by the neck from the trees in the Tiergarten within a few hours of the attempt—not that that would be particularly deterring to men who—for over a year—have never known what it has been to be free of the danger of assassination, but—let me quote Noske: 'Europe always wanted a democratic Germany, and now—to have to see the end of it—to have to face revolution and riot, bloodshed and butchery once again—and then Bolshevism—O my God, where are we being driven to? Where is the way out? If we refuse to hand these officers over, the *Entente* will act, and the Government will have to go. The result will be exactly the same. For thirteen months, almost night and day, with never one day's rest, I have striven for this democratic Germany and for the abolishment of militarism. From the first days at Kiel, whither I was despatched to restore order; through that nightmare in Berlin when I had to shoot hundreds of my countrymen, until recently, when a certain amount of order was attained, when the will to work was gradually being revived in the people, all through those times I have worked for the policy of anti-militarism, and now the noose is being tightened round our necks and we are almost strangled. We have a secret army! We are only tricksters! We are playing a game! God in heaven, make these people see us as we are! We are down—down, and almost out. Our cards are all on the table. England has clever men: why won't they believe us? Or is it that—as so many believe—their policy is absolute destruction? For God's sake, think, before you attempt the destruction of a nation of seventy million people. Where are the psychologists of England? Does not England realise the power she has just now? How if she could but say "Halt! Enough! This shall not be done!" she would be doing for herself almost as great a thing as she would be doing for Germany. Of course she sees a danger in Germany! Look at this knife in my hand: there is an edge on it that might cut my hand, but, because of that danger, am I going to say: "This

knife must cease to exist" ? No ! I am going to use it to feed with, to work with it, to produce with it, and I shall control it so that it does not cut me again. Treat us like that. Give us enough—just sufficient—dock material to carry on our commerce with. Some is necessary for seventy million. *Seventy million, and no outlet !* Leave me the means of maintaining order. Don't ask us for these officers. Consider these points and we will live —live to recover and repay you, to work for you, and, some day, perhaps to work *with* you ; for the policy of the future will be that of continents, not countries. America—Europe—Asia. There are times when I laugh—bitterly, if you will—after receiving the Inter-Allied Missions. The French make splendid, long, flowery speeches ; the British lounge back with their hands in their pockets, and, at the end of the table, is the little sphinx-like Jap, rigid, apparently seeing, hearing nothing—in reality, getting everything out of Germany under your nose. The little men are all over Germany.

" ' We signed the Peace Treaty, knowing we could never fulfil the terms, and believing no nation would ever expect us to. We can be no worse off by signing the present terms than our refusal to sign them would make us, and we would be acting more honestly by doing the latter.

" ' Will you try to get the people in England to trust us, to believe us now ? We have opened our hearts to you, and talked freely—more so than we have ever done before. We still have a little strength—sufficient to struggle for an existence that may not be a shameful one. If we catch hold once again, don't stamp on us this time—this time we go down for ever, and then—the PESTILENCE.

" ' God knows if you can help ! If you can, it will be by getting your people to believe the *truth* about this country.'

" I quote only Noske. Even in that collection of personalities he was the ' Man.'

"What is to be done ? Personally, I never looked on the trial question as other than impossible from the very beginning, and one has only to live here, and know the people, to realise the disaster which the attempt will bring about."

*December 20th.*—Council for the Prorogation. The Lord President, Sir R. Horne (by the King's request), Lord Farquhar, and F. Ponsonby were present. The King's Speech was barely ready, and had to be presented in " proof " form, with the word in big print on the face of the document. It was not, even in this shape, delivered at the Privy Council Office till past nine last night, and we should not have got it by then had the matter not been taken out of the hands of the Prime Minister's staff and placed in those of Maurice Hankey. As it was, it appeared

after the King's signature that the words "dependents of" had been omitted, and His Majesty had been made to congratulate himself upon the pensions granted to those who had fallen in the war! A new feature in the Speech was the substitution of "Members" for "Gentlemen" of the House of Commons: a change made necessary by Lady Astor's presence in the House.

Mr. Balfour was very indignant at the sloppy methods which had been followed, as, although it was not his job, he was called on by the Prime Minister to preside over a Committee yesterday afternoon to give a very prolix document final revision; he was instrumental in cutting out some superfluous sentences, but it still remains one of the longest "Speeches" on record. However, he knows too well the inadequacy of this side of the Prime Minister's work to take the matter very seriously, but agreed very cordially with my remark that the Prime Minister's weakness in these aspects should be made good by the trained efficiency of a competent staff.

## 1920

*January* 16*th*.—I have had an interesting interview with Desart, who has just returned after three days at the Viceregal Lodge with Lord French, whose position he describes as that of a prisoner in his own house. French took Desart out to dine with him, and whimsically apologised for thus placing his life in danger, though he expressed the hope that in the short distance to be covered no great risk was to be run. In proof of the impotence of the Dublin police authorities it is said that, on the arrival of the Lord-Lieutenant at the station a few minutes before he was the object of a murderous attack, he was assured by the principal police officer who came to meet him that everything had been quiet during his absence and that there was no menace to be apprehended.

*January* 22*nd*.—I have had the satisfaction of reading the minutes of the Cabinet meeting that considered Roddie's letter, which appears to have produced important results in diminishing the number of claims for the surrender of German officers and in bringing about a rigid definition of the class of crimes which were to be the subject of investigation, so as to confine the sphere of punishment to acts of plunder and savagery which the Germans themselves could not fail to recognise as fitting objects for atonement.

We had a Council (the King coming up from Norfolk) for certain Acts of State arising out of the ratification of the Treaty. The Lord President, Desart, Sandhurst, and Maurice de Bunsen were present, Sir A. Boscawen and F. Guest attending to be sworn. In presenting a draft Order for approval, A. J. B. made

an amusing slip by describing it as intended to dissolve the legislative Council of " Jerusalem " instead of Jamaica. He did not appear to realise his mistake till the King corrected him, when he was so overcome with laughter that he could hardly proceed. Councils now are much more genial affairs, as he diffuses an atmosphere of humanity and sincere feeling.

A characteristic story goes that, someone asking Mr. Balfour whether it was true that the Roumanians had been guilty of great savagery while in occupation of Hungary, was surprised with the answer, given with an air of profound reflection : " Ah ! I always told Margot that she was running a grave risk in allowing her daughter to marry a Roumanian ! "

*January 24th.*—The accompanying letter, in appreciation of my last official step in connection with the Scottish Midwives Act, with its tribute to our administration during the three years since it was passed, is not undeserving of record :

" KENNET, ALLOA,
" *January 23rd,* 1920.

" DEAR SIR ALMERIC,

" Thank you very much for your kindness in writing to tell me of the acceptance by Lady Helen Munro Ferguson of the seat vacated (with extreme reluctance) by me on the Central Midwives Board for Scotland. I cannot tell you how much I regret the transference of power from the P.C., but this was, I know, inevitable. I only hope that the Ministry of Health will be as just and as approachable as you (as the incarnation of the P.C. !) have proved generally to be.

" Yours very truly,
" KATHERINE BALFOUR OF BURLEIGH."

*February 9th.*—We had a Council this morning in connection with the approval of the King's Speech for the opening of the Session (the Lord President, Curzon, Colebrooke, and F. Ponsonby attending) at which an Order was passed assigning the definite date on which the war was deemed to have come to an end. So falls the curtain upon the sanguinary series of events that were ushered in by the Declaration of War on Tuesday, August 4th, 1914 ; a long-drawn drama of horror without parallel in the history of the modern world.

*February 26th.*—We dined with Julia Lady Tweeddale to meet Princess Marie Louise. I had Lady Loch on one side of me, who was very agreeable. Lady Northcote, Charles Murray and Lady Anne, E. Benson, Sir F. Sykes, and others were there. Benson told my wife that Lord Crewe was engaged in " censoring " Mrs. Asquith's Reminiscences ! [1]

*March 2nd.*—A special Council was held for the introduction

[1] Only, I learnt later, in matters of punctuation and such-like.

of the Prince of Wales before his departure to Australasia, where he is empowered by Royal Commission, approved to-day, to hold Councils for swearing those members of the Privy Council who have not had the opportunity to observe that form.

It appears to have been forgotten that members of the Royal Family or close kinsmen of the Crown are not sworn, though there is nothing in this to warrant the absurd statement which appears in newspapers, that "every Royal Prince is born a Privy Councillor."

Prince Arthur of Connaught was present by special desire of the King, and Horace Farquhar, Sandhurst, and Stamfordham also attended.

*March 4th.*—I saw the Prince's Private Secretary, Sir Godfrey Thomas, this morning, to go through the forms connected with the Councils to be held in New Zealand and Australia, of which he is to act as clerk.

I sent the accompanying letter to "The Times," which I hope disposes of Greville's curious lapse in covering a palpable absurdity with his sanction. I cannot understand how Reeve could have passed such an entry in the "Diary" without challenging the authority of the information.

"A Caroline Precedent

"*To the Editor of 'The Times'*

"Sir,

"The belief current in some quarters that Royal Princes are not sworn upon admission to the Privy Council because they are born Privy Councillors rests on no better evidence than Greville's artless acceptance of the *obiter dictum* of the Duke of Sussex. I have before me the Minute recording Prince Rupert's introduction into the Privy Council of Charles II on April 26, 1662, which runs as follows:

"'His Majesty sitting in Council, His Highness Prince Rupert was called in by His Majesty and declared to be of his Council, dispensing with his taking the usual Oaths of a Privy Councillor in regard of his near relation to His Majesty, and took his place at the Board.'

"The reason given in the case of a first-cousin is obviously sufficient when the admission of a son is in question.

"I am, sir,

"Your obedient servant,

"Almeric FitzRoy.

"Privy Council Office,
"*March 4th.*"

*March 6th.*—It is interesting to note that the revival last night of the Lord President's "Sheriffs" Dinner marks a memorable

centenary in the history of the Banquet, as, Lord Harrowby being then Lord President, it was in his house in Grosvenor Square, on February 21st, 1820, that the guests for the occasion, including nearly the whole Cabinet, were threatened with indiscriminate massacre by the Cato Street conspirators. Certainly the shadow of no menace, past or prospective, hung over us last night: my memory does not record a more convivial evening. We were fourteen in all, eleven Ministers (Lord President, Lord Chancellor, Chesterfield, Sandhurst, Shortt, Churchill, Chamberlain, Fisher, Munro, Horne, and Macpherson) and three officials, including Mr. Balfour's Private Secretary. I was placed between Horne and Macpherson, which gave me complete satisfaction. When the time came to open the business of the evening I told our host we always began by drinking the King's health, a suggestion which was greeted with hearty applause, and a fresh bottle of port was at once produced. There was little in the list for discussion, but at the Yorkshire nomination an encounter took place between Winston Churchill and his ally, the Lord Chancellor, on the treatment of a particular person: they both betrayed a great antipathy towards the man in question, but Winston wished to insist on his serving for the current year, while the Lord Chancellor refused to inflict him upon the Judges. The case was argued, to everybody's amusement, with much humour and vivacity, to which Austen Chamberlain contributed a vein of mock seriousness which proved an effective foil. The final decision put Winston in a minority of 6 to 4, but he accepted his defeat with a good grace.

I had a long talk with Macpherson on the Irish situation, which confirmed the impression given by his public conduct, that he is both straight and resolute. He gave the highest praise to French's courage and composure, but spoke with no confident assumptions about the prospects of the Home Rule Bill, of the shortcomings of which he was painfully aware; but, here again, he struck me as an honest man struggling with adversity. The general tenor of his views was largely in accord with those I have heard from Desart, of whom he spoke with great cordiality and respect. The partition of Ulster, in the lack of substantial guarantees for the Unionists who would come under a Home Rule Parliament, is admittedly reason for deep misgiving. The design is obviously to placate Carson to the extent of a qualified acceptance of the Bill, in the perhaps forlorn hope that an Ulster Legislature, whether of six or nine counties, would ultimately gravitate towards a united Ireland.

We could not have had a more urbane and delightful host, and the time spent upstairs, in the room hung with Burne-Jones's great series of paintings from the life and exploits of Perseus, gave a most agreeable finish to the evening.

*March 8th.*—Some memoranda by Colonel Roddie of conversations with Ludendorff and Hoffmann throw a flood of light upon the unteachable character of a certain order of German mind. The idea of a coalition against Bolshevist Russia, in which Germany is to play the principal part in alliance with England and France, at the price of the return of Upper Silesia and Prussian Poland, is one of the most extravagant conceits, and the suggestion that in the last resort the men, who propose it, may otherwise find Bolshevism is their only alternative, is hardly one to enforce the practicability of the scheme. It is not a little curious that both eall for the appearance of Winston Churchill on the German stage, as a deliverer! It would indeed be an opening for his restless energies, which have already exhausted the opportunities of a War Minister in time of peace. "Can you get Mr. Churchill to come over here, even for a few days—incognito, if he likes. Let us talk to him; the danger is so great that we must leave no stone unturned!" says Ludendorff.

*March 11th.*—Council this morning for the pricking of the Sheriffs. Crawford, who had to be present with the Lancashire list, took the Lord President's place for the rest of the job as Mr. Balfour was in Paris for a meeting of the League of Nations. Sandhurst, Somerleyton, and F. Ponsonby completed the quorum. A long list of business and the Sheriffs were disposed of in a quarter of an hour.

*March 12th.*—We dined at Buckingham Palace last night, and, but for the long stand I had to endure, from 9.40 to nearly the end of the evening, it was all very agreeable and our hosts were the flower of courtesy. We sat down some forty-six, after being received by Their Majesties and Princess Mary, who then passed into the Banqueting-hall, where we were gathered to give them a ceremonial salutation. I was very fortunate in being given the charge of Lady Chetwode, who, besides the possession of good looks and a graceful carriage, proved very pleasant and entertaining during the all too short interval at dinner. I knew several of her kin on either side, and detected a strong resemblance to her first-cousin, now Lady Winifred Pennoyer. The Asquiths and Crewes presented *la haute politique*; Lord Finlay, the Desarts, Coventrys, Lady Gosford, Clarendons, and Carnocks were all conspicuous figures; while W. Pakenham, Sir P. Chetwode, and F. Lloyd adequatcly stood for the Services. I had forgotten the American and Japanese Ambassadors, with their wives.

The picture-gallery has undergone a complete transformation, which is most favourable to the display of the masterpieces it contains. The flat ceiling has been replaced by a convcxity of opaque glass, through which the rays of the electric lamps are softly disseminated; pillars of a blue-grey Italian marble, with bronze capitals, figure at the ends, and the doorways have been

framed in chestnut-wood enriched with graceful exfoliations; while the walls are surmounted by a frieze bearing similar incrustations. The pictures are on a surface of verdigris green, which the Queen borrowed from Welbeck: it takes the light well, and affords a very decorative background. My wife vainly tried to win the Japanese Ambassadress's applause for the canvases of Rembrandt, but she could not recognise their claim to be placed on a par with the delicate fancies of Japanese art.

*March 15th.*—I had luncheon with Lady Bristol, where I met Lady Grace Baring, the de Bunsens, and Francis and Lady Lloyd. We heard that Lady Howe had broken her thigh last night by a fall on her doorstep as she returned from dinner next door. Savile, who was with her, was unable to avert the disaster, as, in spite of her eighty-seven years, she is very disinclined to accept assistance. In anyone not so indefatigably tenacious of life, the result would probably be fatal.

*March 16th.*—The death of Robert Morant comes as a shock to those who saw him but lately full of activity. An attack of influenza was followed by complications which issued in meningitis and proved rapidly fatal. He was a big figure in more ways than one, and, happier than many, was working in a field most favourable to the display of his very striking talents. He generated the momentum which overwhelmed obstacles and enlisted the strenuous support of ardent minds. He gave, moreover, to the details of organisation that spark of idealism which is nearly allied to genius, and sometimes transmutes the elements of opposition into the factors of success. He was not, perhaps, always scrupulous in his methods, but knew how to control the wills of weaker men to the fulfilment of his own high purpose; there was nothing ignoble in his aims, and he had gifts of generosity which made co-operation easy. I was first associated with him twenty-five years ago, when I was with the Duke of Devonshire and he was private secretary to Sir John Gorst, a position he eventually used in a manner which must have flattered the cynical estimates of his chief, whom for all practical purposes he ultimately superseded. With his loss a remarkable man and a great public servant disappears.

*March 20th.*—The subjoined question and answer are worth recording as a matter of history.

"Forty-five. Captain Wedgwood Benn.—To ask the President of the Board of Trade if he will say under what statutory authority the Privy Council acts in granting licences for export.

"I am advised that there is no statutory authority, but that the power to grant licences for export has been exercised by the Privy Council in time of war at least as far back as the eighteenth century, as one of the powers inherent in the Privy Council.

"I may add that the issue of licences for export is expressly

recognised in Section 4 of the Customs (War Powers) Act 1915, Chapter 31."

*March 21st.*—Moreton Frewen has just returned from the United States in sheer wonderment at the colossal wealth pouring into the hands of their financiers and traders, in spite of which the richest among them are consumed with fear that the bottom is about to be knocked out of civilisation. He never saw untold prosperity go with so much apprehension of the future, and felt himself justified in chiding them for their cowardice.

Dinner at the Charles Parsons's. I had next me Mrs. Saxton Noble, a very intelligent and charming woman.

*March 22nd.*—The current in the constituencies runs strongly against fusion. Tory associations, particularly in the North of England, have declared themselves hostile, but, as these bodies are in no sense popular or democratic in constitution, the decision does little to prejudice the soundness of the policy. The only loss will be that a letter on the subject which Mr. Balfour, by request of Lloyd George and Bonar Law, had taken great pains to write, will not now be published, to the regret of those who had ardently looked for an announcement on the topic from the pen of the keenest and most detached intelligence in the service of the nation.

We dined with the Beauchamps, meeting the Shaftesburys, Lady Leconfield, Colebrooke, Mr. Justice Sargant and wife, the Maurice Glyns, Talbots, Stephen McKenna, and Mrs. Johnstone. I found myself next my hostess at dinner: a position I enjoyed, as I had not seen her for a long time, and her transparent beauty of character is always captivating.

*March 25th.*—We had a Council this morning, mainly for the purpose of establishing Horne at the Board of Trade. Shortt took the Lord President's place, and Horace Farquhar and F. Ponsonby completed the attendance. Horne was very gloomy on the prospect of bringing the miners to terms. There has evidently been a lot of intrigue below the surface, to produce the belief that the Government wish to provoke a strike; an idea so preposterous that only the most blindly malicious party spirit could conceive it; and yet the desire to damage Lloyd George went so far as to cover a statement in "The Westminster Gazette" that the Government's good faith in the matter was more than suspect.

We dined with the Straffords, a rather large party. Princess Muriel Munster was there, who is trying to save the wrecks of her husband's fortune that were invested in England. She looked aged and worried. I took in Grace Lady Wemyss, who has a clear-cut impressiveness of thought and feature.

*March 26th.*—Dined with the Maclennans (he is a Canadian Senator), and met Lady Bective, Sir G. and Lady Perley, and

another Canadian politician. The conversation, when the men were alone, turned not unnaturally upon Canadian politics, and I was surprised to learn the extreme rigour of party divisions in that country. Even the adhesion of Liberals to Borden, which made conscription possible, does not seem to have softened asperities, and the political future of such men seems very obscure.

*April 1st–6th.*—As my house was in the hands of workmen, I spent these days at the Travellers', dining on Saturday 3rd with the Beauchamps, where I met Lady Leconfield, Countess Lutzow, Miss Edith Drummond, and two young men whom Lady Beauchamp had discovered in the Isle of Thanet. Lady Leconfield gave me a fairly good account of Lord Rosebery, to whom I sent a message evincing my regard.

*April 21st.*—McCurdy and Morison, the new Lord Advocate, were with me this morning, to go through the formalities to be observed when they are sworn on Monday. Macpherson came in the afternoon, and expressed his profound satisfaction at being free from the perpetual menace of Irish politics. "I saw no light anywhere," was his melancholy avowal, "and things only went from bad to worse."

*April 26th.*—The King came up from Windsor to hold a Council, and thus give Ministers waiting to be sworn the least trouble. Shortt took the Lord President's place, Sandhurst, Colebrooke, and Macpherson completing the attendance. Hamar Greenwood brings to Ireland a robust personality with a bustling self-confidence, reminiscent, so people tell me, of Toronto, his birthplace.

*April 29th.*—I attended a conference at the Colonial Office, Amery in the chair, to consider the propriety of continuing the existence of the Overseas Educational Committee, which has hitherto been run by the War Office in the interest of overseas ex-soldiers needing commercial equipment, and, as far as they are concerned, comes to an end on June 20th. Lord Gorell, who acted as its chairman, attended to explain such reasons as there were for its continuance, which he strongly advocated. The second point was whether it should be placed under the Privy Council, which he also desired to see done. The general feeling was in favour of the Committee being maintained at any rate for another nine months or a year, but I deprecated the Privy Council being charged with its control unless it was to be a permanent organisation, and strongly urged that it would be far better to identify it with the Overseas Industrial Committee, which is a section of the Colonial Office in active working order, and with which it is already in constant communication. These views prevailed for the present.

In the evening I attended the dinner of the Chatham Club, as the guest of John Atkins, to hear H. Belloc deliver himself

on the subject of the decay of Parliament. The dinner (at the Criterion) was very pleasant. I had Cromer on one side, and gave reasons, which were complimentary to him, for my regret at his leaving the King. It appears he is to go with the Prince of Wales to India, and has been, as it were, seconded to prepare for that job, which is no light undertaking; what may be his permanent lot he did not seem to know.

Belloc was very effective in a vein of conversational fluency (the practice being to remain seated) coloured by a humorous whimsicality against a background of almost saturnine gloom. Father Chronos he might have been, lamenting over his degenerate progeny. So far as he was serious, he appeared to me to mistake the symptoms of a temporary indisposition for the indications of chronic disease. Amery, who replied, was not very weighty, though he had no difficulty in making some rhetorical points: his argument, as someone afterwards showed, amounted to little more than a confession that his view of parliamentary efficiency turned upon whether he was in or out of office. No one seemed to suspect that the real cause of the "decay," such as it is, rests with the progressive demoralisation of the Press. A sound Press is the great corrective of parliamentary extravagance, and, with that corrective withdrawn, or in suspense, Parliament is without its best tonic.

*May 6th.*—We had luncheon at Horace Farquhar's. Most excellent food, and a very pleasant party: Seymour Fortescue, Mrs. Clayton (Jeanne de Fougères), Mrs. Arthur Sassoon, Sir William Pulteney and Lady Pulteney, and others. Seymour Fortescue seemed very pleased with the success of his Reminiscences, and no doubt he has been a close and shrewd student of the years with which he deals. Few young men were more in the confidence of King Edward, which he repaid with a very loyal affection. I reminded him of his letter on the state of the Mediterranean Fleet when Hopkins was the Admiral in command, which the First Lord of the Admiralty (Mr. Goschen) circulated to the Cabinet. It appears that it was written at Hopkins's express wish, which he disavowed when the Admiralty showed their teeth.

*May 8th–10th.*—Sunday at Milton with Mrs. Rate, under the hills near Dorking: a sixteenth-century kernel to the house and a lovely modern garden. A day of grace and warmth to be remembered in this so far inhospitable May. Bessborough, whom I had not seen since the death of his wife, was there. The state of Ireland and of the railway world are to him equally distracting.

*May 14th.*—In preparation for Monday's Council I saw Mr. Watt, the Treasurer of the Australian Commonwealth, who struck me as a very good type of Dominion statesman, earnest

and energetic, and gravely impressed with the importance of the mission with which these young States are charged.

*May 17th.*—As the King is going to Aldershot for a week to-morrow, we had a Council, which I should gladly have postponed for a few days. However, we managed to get much of the outstanding business discharged. Shortt took the Lord President's place, Horace Farquhar, Colebrooke, and Mr. Watt completing the number. Watt and Mrs. Watt had luncheon with the King and Queen a few days ago, and he spoke very gracefully of their kindness in putting Mrs. Watt at her ease before she had been with them five minutes. There is no doubt, in matters of this kind, Their Majesties play a signal part in cementing the ties of Empire ; it is to the recipients of their kindness a real display of kinship.

Watt spoke in sincere praise of Ronald Ferguson and Lady Helen, both of whom would leave Australia deeply regretted. He is going to see Milner in a few days to talk about their successor, so I ventured to put in a word in favour of Loch, which Watt received very gratefully, as his father's name is still held in the highest esteem at Melbourne, where Watt resides.

Yesterday afternoon, under floods of sunshine, I watched the ceremonies outside Westminster Cathedral in celebration of Joan of Arc's reception among the Saints. Everything was done with that profound instinct for spectacular effect which has accompanied the Catholic Church down all her history. Of the 3,000 persons who took part in the triumphal march round the great church, a very large proportion were recruited from the youth of the faithful: and so Catholicism makes her august challenge to the future.

*May 19th.*—A large dinner at the F. Bentinck's, twenty-four in all : the Exeters, Yarboroughs, Jim Baillie and Lady Burton, Lady Amabel O'Neill, Charles and Lady Muriel Willoughby, the Rodds, Mrs. Warburton, and others. I took Lady Rodd in to dinner, who gave me a distressing account of the Buchanans, with whom she stayed on their way back from Egypt, as Lady Georgiana has not recovered from the operation, and now suffers continuous pain. This has reacted upon his sensitive organisation to the extent of making him seriously indisposed, and the political situation in Italy renders the Embassy far from the bed of roses he had anticipated at the date of his appointment. Rodd is engaged on the report of the Milner mission, which he told me was unlikely to contain anything calculated to capture the imagination of the public: but he still hoped that it might prepare the way for changes which would mark a real stage in the progress towards self-government. The weakness of our position there lay in the dearth of men from this country who have the hall-mark of directing capacity. There was plenty of cleverness of a certain order,

which went no further than Lord Morley's celebrated definition, "aptitude without weight," but very little of that instinct for the exercise of the higher gifts of control which once was present in such abundance among the young Englishmen who sought a career outside their own country. It might, of course, be a temporary failure owing to the strain of the demand arising out of the war, but it was for the moment a serious handicap in every field of Imperial administration. Lady Bentinck, wife of the Admiral who was Chief of Beatty's Staff at Jutland Bank, was on my right; an agreeable woman. After dinner I talked to Mrs. Warburton, Newton's daughter, and the Yarboroughs took me most of the way home.

*May 21st.*—Hylton and I, who had been responsible for his election at the Travellers', dined there with Roddie, on the eve of his return to Berlin. He said the Germans were going to Spa with no hope of obtaining a revision of the Treaty, but they did rely upon some assurance of an indulgent interpretation in respect of some of its provisions. The country was listless, and to a large extent idle, because it appeared to the workers that their industry was too heavily mortgaged to the profit of the Allies; but, once that fear is removed, he saw every prospect of economic recovery. Already there were indications in Berlin and elsewhere of improvement, and with its growth there was the best chance of frustrating the intrigues of reactionaries, who had done themselves much harm by the absurd antics of the Kapp conspirators. At the same time, he thought the tendency was towards the restoration of monarchical government in a qualified form in most of the German States, with the ultimate possibility of an elected head something on the model of the old Empire.

The Kapp conspiracy found Roddie at Dessau, whither he had gone for the day. On his return to Berlin, he was held up and taken to the headquarters of the nearest guard, where, the chauffeur being unable to answer questions, he was hailed before two brutal Prussian officers, who, beguiled by his knowledge of the language, believed thay had only to deal with some German civilian. Not being satisfied with the answers they got about his motor, they asked where his papers were, and got very angry when he replied "In my pocket" instead of handing them over for inspection. This he now did, with the paper identifying him as a British officer conspicuously displayed. They then showed themselves thoroughly disconcerted and ready to lick the dust, praying him not to carry away "a wrong impression" of what had passed. "No," he said, "I shall take back a most accurate impression," and then proceeded to recall what had happened. Their discomposure now visibly grew, and the senior officer asked if he might be allowed to conduct Roddie to his car. This attention he coldly accepted, and he was taken down and placed in his

car, the German officer displaying the most elaborate subservience, and, as the car drove off, bringing himself to the salute with punctilious exactness.

*May 28th.*—I found Mr. Balfour at the Travellers' for dinner immediately upon his return from Italy. He told me he had been shot at near Spezzia on May 3rd, but laughingly assured me he had no reason to think there had been anything personal in the attention.

*June 2nd.*—I celebrated the Derby by attending Horace Farquhar's dance to meet the Queen, who easily carried off the palm among those there, notwithstanding the beauty and distinction of many of them. Nothing could have been better done in every particular, the only drawback, for which host and hostess were not responsible, lying in the character of modern dancing and the extravagance of much modern attire. As a disinterested observer, the first appeared to me without the semblance of mirth—nay, rather to represent some lugubrious rite or incantation connected with an unholy cult. Certain dresses presented an appearance of lax floppiness ; one distinguished lady had managed to combine in the highest degree ugliness with eccentricity, while another had put together the most astonishing complex ever seen. The upper story was a kind of black and white slashed doublet extending somewhere above the knees, below which protruded for about twelve inches what appeared to be a pair of puffy Turkish trousers !

I saw Lady Derby, who gave me a graphic account of the great race. Archaic, she said, did quite as well as they expected, and would probably distinguish himself more in the autumn. I was pleased to see Daphne Graham,[1] whose first season this is. She is quite pretty, of a dark type, and with charming, unaffected manners.

*June 4th.*—We had a delightful expedition to Southampton for a short cruise in the Solent on board the "Almanzorn," one of the latest additions to Owen Philipps's great fleet. He entertained us with the most bountiful hospitality ; the sun poured its radiance on sea and land, bringing out all the beauty of those inland waters. There was a great number of well-known people on board, and the day's enjoyment was without a flaw.

*June 8th.*—Hall tells me the Prime Minister was first-rate in his reply on the motion last night upon the negotiations with Russia. At the height of his argument Mr. Kennedy Jones somewhat rudely interpolated, "But what about principles ?" Lloyd George replied, "I had rather not discuss principles with the Hon. Member," and then, upon some shouts of disapproval being raised, he went on : "I prefer to do so with somebody who understands them better."

[1] Daughter of Sir Richard and Lady Cynthia Graham.

We dined with an Indian Prince, brother of the Maharajah of Kapurthala, at Claridge's, to meet the Secretary of State and Mrs. Montagu. The dinner was excellent, and the company included Lady Jersey, the Sheffields, O'Hagans, Lees of Fareham, Monds, Sir W. Duke, Lord Sinha, James Dunlop Smith, the Rajah of Jalawar, the Jam of Nawanagar (Ranjitsinhji), and other representatives of the two races. Mrs. Montagu looked remarkably well, as, too, did her mother, who seemed not a day older than I remember her before the war. I was struck with the signal intimacy and cordiality which appeared to prevail between the English and Indian elements.

*June 9th.*—A small dinner at the Douro Hoares. Sir John and Lady Hanbury-Williams, Lady Maud Hoare, and Mrs. Percy Hambro, a very pretty woman whose husband is Q.M.G. at Bagdad, where she spent the winter largely in the society of Miss Gertrude Bell. I rarely met one of greater charm and attractiveness, and with it all a fastidious grace that gave her an incomparable distinction.

*June 11th.*—Council at Buckingham Palace at 10.30, much to the Lord President's disgust at so early an hour. Sandhurst, R. Rodd, and Sir F. Lugard were present; the last-named took the oath, having been appointed some months ago, and Stanley Baldwin and Mr. Kellaway were sworn on introduction. The King was very kind to Kellaway, who has an artificial leg, and had some difficulty in kneeling.

When I reached the door on our departure, I found Mr. Balfour clad in my coat and about to go off with it. I recovered it, however, though I told him I would gladly have been content with his, if, as I supposed, it might have the virtue of Elijah's mantle.

Mr. Watt's resignation of the Treasurership of Australia is difficult to reconcile with the repeated statements of Mr. Hughes that he is unaware of the reason. I had a letter from Watt only yesterday in which he stated: "Differences have arisen between my colleagues in the Commonwealth Cabinet and myself, concerning important matters relating to my mission in England." I met him in the afternoon and noted that his manner was marked by an excitement which he had some difficulty in restraining.

Lady Dudley's death from drowning is a most distressing event. Hers was a fine character, and she had displayed great dignity and restraint in circumstances of no ordinary difficulty. The beauty of her life was reflected in her face and converse.

*June 29th.*—By Hylton's invitation I attended the inspection of the Yeomen of the Guard in the garden of St. James's Palace by the Duke of Connaught. Happily, the sun shone on the old-world equipment and accoutrements, and the muster was a full one, 80 rank and file out of a total of 101. Their picturesque

dress is never seen out of London. Years ago the proposal was made to send some of them to Cowes to grace the reception of the German Ex-Emperor on the occasion of his first visit, and the leave of Queen Victoria was asked. Straight and sure came the answer from Sir Henry Ponsonby: "The Queen says she is damned if the Beefeaters shall leave London."

*July 9th.*—The debate on the Amritsar affair showed the Tory rump at their worst. The Secretary of State is not a popular personage, but, however his treatment of the case may have lacked insight, which is another name for access to all the aspects of truth, nothing could excuse the truculent outburst of racial passion with which his explanation was received. A frantic and sanguinary mob applauding massacre, and shrieking for the immunity of its author, is not a spectacle to be forgotten, and must have produced a lamentable impression upon the Indians present.

*July 10th.*—I had luncheon at the Carlton to meet the Council of the League of Nations under the joint presidency of Mr. Balfour and M. Léon Bourgeois. Winston Churchill, Crewe, Robert Cecil, Charles Hardinge and Lords Bryce and Reading represented English statesmanship, and there were also present the Italian, Spanish, Brazilian, and Belgian Ambassadors, the Swedish Minister, one or two Japanese, the Swedish Prime Minister, Branting, and their Envoy in Paris, Baron Ehrensard, the Permanent Secretaries of the Colonial and India Offices, a sprinkling of M.P.'s, and others. The presence of so many Swedes was due to the fact that the day's deliberation was occupied by the question of the Aland Islands, now vested in Finland, to which Sweden has advanced a claim. Baron Ehrensard was seated next me and had a great deal to say on the subject, emphasizing the fact that 90 per cent. of the inhabitants were ready to record their votes in favour of union with Sweden. He belongs to the Liberal Party in Swedish politics, but testified to the great wisdom with which Branting, a constitutional Socialist, has guided its destinies and maintained himself in close and confidential relations with the Crown. The Japanese envoy, on my other side, who talked English with great fluency, was emphatic in his regret that the United States had not adhered to the League, possibly thinking that their difference with Japan might otherwise be more easily settled. It was a remarkable gathering, and I was struck by the freedom of intercourse and general impression of mutual good-will that prevailed. There were no speeches to stress the point; Mr. Balfour, in giving the two toasts of the King and the other Sovereigns and Heads of States represented, announced that they would be dispensed with. It was perhaps as well, as M. Bourgeois is credited with great prolixity. He tells the story against himself that on one occasion he went to sleep for ten minutes while making a speech, and woke up to find himself pursuing the even

tenor of his way without interruption to the thread of his discourse : whether his reporter would have confirmed this impression is another matter.

The luncheon quite justified the culinary reputation of the Carlton, but was not over till past three.

*July* 14*th*.—I dined with Lady Vera Herbert, and met the Duckworths, Lady Harewood, Lady Carnarvon, Charles Stewart and Evelyn Cecil. Lady Harewood told me that Lady Howe, eighty-eight, and with a broken leg, had attended the Ball at Curzon House, a signal instance of an indefatigable spirit.

*July* 16*th*.—I met Wrangel yesterday, and, referring to the League of Nations luncheon, I told him how agreeable I had found his countryman, Baron Ehrensard, mentioning that at his request I had introduced him to Winston Churchill. " Ah," he said, " like the people at the Zoo, who always want to see the biggest animal."

We are to have the first instalment of Mrs. Asquith's " Memoirs " in " The Sunday Times." I hear they have been drastically overhauled by competent legal authority, in order to delete the possible material for libel actions. She sent what she had written of him to Mr. Balfour, asking him to revise it ; but he declined to have anything to do with such a job, and is said to have returned the text with the assurance that he had perfect confidence in her discretion !

*July* 20*th*.—Burdett-Coutts had a party of the " Anglo-Catholic " prelates, which was very largely attended. A sprinkling of the lay world added the piquancy of contrast, and the house lent its display of beautiful things to the background with great effect. It is not often that an evening party offers such an opportunity to the connoisseur or dilettante.

I had a few words with Milner and congratulated him cordially on the strength of the minority of Peers who had just recorded their vote on the side of sanity and restraint in the Amritsar affair. " Never," I said, " has a minority in the House of Lords had a stronger case " ; to which he replied emphatically : " You are perfectly right." His speech, taken with Winston's in the other Chamber, supplemented by one passage from Buckmaster and the businesslike statement of Lord Meston, left the other side without a shred of reason or excuse. Blind passion to strike at Montagu, fomented by the angry obscurantism of a portion of the Press, swamped the calmer judgment of the House.

An incident upon the back benches exemplifies the prevailing point of view. While Sinha was unfolding his argument in a speech that everyone admits was a model of restraint and freedom from racial feeling, some obscure Peer was heard to mutter, " If they are all like him, the more they massacre the better."

The Archbishop of Canterbury claimed to speak as a repre-

sentative of Christian obligation: only two of his episcopal colleagues went into the lobby with him!

*July* 22*nd*.—A Council was held this morning, *inter alia*, to give the date of the end of the war with Austria. Sir Clifford Allbutt, Regius Professor of Physic at the University of Cambridge, was sworn a Privy Councillor. His age, eighty-four, and deafness created some difficulty, and for the first few minutes he seemed in a comatose state, only capable of mechanical movement, when suddenly he woke up and was quite alive to the rest of the ceremony. The Lord President, Sandhurst, Colebrooke, and M. de Bunsen were present. At the conclusion of the business the King spoke to me about subsequent arrangements, and intimated that, if some urgent call arose for a Council while he was at Balmoral, he would follow the same plan as last year and not ask for anyone's attendance from London.

The weather held up most kindly for the garden-party at Buckingham Palace, and I saw a good many old friends, meeting with whom in these days is very fortuitous. We happily arranged with Lady Forster that they would dine with us before their departure for Australia.

*July* 28*th*.—In their relations with Sinn Fein the Government are, I hear, about to embark upon a drastic course of repression which can only justify itself by success; but, as they do not know whom to strike, present conditions can hardly be deemed favourable to the accomplishment of much. In any case, it will assort ill with the offer of Dominion self-government; while, if a failure, concession will appear to have been wrung from prostrate authority.

*August* 10*th*.—Yesterday was the twenty-second anniversary of my appointment as Clerk of the Council, within which period I have attended some 365 Councils.

We gave a small dinner of farewell to the Forsters, who embark for Australia on the 21st. Their daughter, Mrs. Pitt-Rivers, came too, and Evelyn Farquhar, John Atkins, and Arthur Somerset brought the party up to eight. Farewells, particularly at my time of life, are touched with melancholy, and I cannot see without emotion such delightful personalities pass out of my view. Never will Australia have received a richer gift from the Mother-country than in these three examples of the fine flower of English life in its most impressive significance.

*August* 13*th*.—A Council to-day for winding up current business, and, if possible, forestalling any demand for the next two months. The King was to have left London this evening, but the momentary misunderstanding between England and France in the development of the Polish situation has caused him to defer his departure, it is hoped, no further than Monday.

The Lord President, Hamar Greenwood, Colebrooke, and

M. de Bunsen constituted the Council, and Sir G. Graham was sworn on appointment to the Embassy at Brussels. He quite recognises the need of caution in criticising France, and agreed with me that, in the co-operation of two peoples with such a widely different mental outlook, opportunities for disagreement, or at least divergence, were bound to occur, and it was perhaps remarkable that they had not been more frequent or more untoward in their effects.

*September 16th.*—I was away for five weeks, a respite I had not enjoyed since the autumn of 1913. After eighteen days spent at home, my tenant being away, we went to Admiralty House, Portsmouth, for four very pleasant days, with Arthur Calthorpe, the Port Admiral for the time being, and I had the opportunity of renewing old ties with H.M. Navy. After dinner one evening I found myself next Captain Buller of the "Malaya," now preparing for the Duke of Connaught's conveyance to India, who was the son of my old Captain on board the "Agincourt" forty-one years ago, afterwards Sir Alexander Buller, Commander-in-Chief in China. He was one of the best fellows I ever knew, and ultimately died in the hunting-field at an age when he ought to have taken things more quietly. The dockyard, over which we were taken by the Flag-Lieutenant, Cavendish, a most efficient guide, was full of the *detritus* of the war, ships of all sizes and shapes which had been brought into being for special purposes and had now survived their usefulness. One of the most remarkable was the "Eagle," a seaplane carrier, which could house fifty seaplanes and launch them into the air at the rate of one a minute: she was almost as broad as she was long, with her funnel and engine on the port side, so as to leave the rest of her bulk to the uses for which she was designed. The weather was not very favourable for seafaring, but on the last afternoon we had a delightful trip in the Admiral's roomy steam-barge to Southampton Water and the Hamble River, up to Bursledon. We passed hundreds of motor-launches, which have been sold to a Frenchman and are there parked until he can find means for disposing of them. They are ugly craft, without any counter, and it is difficult to see to what uses they can be adapted. Sir Montagu and Lady Browning came for the last night of our stay, both of whom I liked. Subsequently I spent five days at Heron Court and seven at Ammerdown. At the first I met an officer, formerly Military Secretary at the War Office, and during the first weeks of the war Inspector of Communications to the Expeditionary Force. He gave me a graphic picture of the disorganisation and confusion which reigned in France upon the precipitate retreat of the army during the last days of August, and enlarged on the dangers that might have ensued from French's retirement to the west of Paris. As it was, every preparation had been made for the

transfer of the base to St. Nazaire, a name, it appears, unknown to many prominent soldiers, and even that it might have proved impossible to hold, in which case Marseilles was the only alternative. He deplored some inaccuracies in French's personal account of the events of that time: upon the important point of the general he wanted on the death of Grierson, it will be remembered that he asked, according to his book, for Plumer; as a matter of fact, he was only third in the order of names mentioned, Bruce Hamilton and Arthur Paget preceding him.

Persons so well informed as Sir W. Robertson were, at the end of August, in despair, and French was demanding leave to retire to the Loire.

My return to Ammerdown after the heavy loss which fell upon the house two years ago was a grave ordeal, so poignantly were the springs of memory turned to that unforgettable tragedy. Standing in church beneath the tablet, which bears the inscription penned by the Provost of Eton, I felt the full force of the words, "propter ingenium animi candorem comitatem dilectissimus, desideratissimus"; and two days later, upon the second anniversary of the catastrophe, his mother placed in my hands a volume of collected letters, with the tributes paid to his memory by those who loved him, which reminded me of Seneca's words: "Nemo enim mortalium uni tam dulcis erat quam hic omnibus." His mother's composure through it all conveyed to me the sense of grief refined to the highest meaning of which human experience is capable.

*September 23rd.*—The imminence of a strike has constrained the Home Office, at Horne's instance, to consider the propriety of extending summer-time for some weeks. At very short notice, therefore, I had to telegraph to Stamfordham announcing, subject to the decision of the Cabinet, the necessity of a Council to pass the requisite Order, sending by the messenger this evening the necessary papers.

Troup was in my room this afternoon, and spoke very despondingly of what he termed Bolshevik tendencies in many mining districts, going so far as to say that he would not be surprised if, coincident with a strike, workmen's Soviets were established in South Wales, and possibly in Sheffield, which is a great centre of disturbance.

*September 24th.*—I heard from Troup[1] at breakfast that the Cabinet had decided to ask for the Order, and telegraphed accordingly to Stamfordham. At a little after three, however, the prospects of a strike having altogether changed, I was warned in no case to publish the Order without further notice, which of course I had no intention to do. It appears that the Miners' Executive, on meeting this morning, agreed to recommend to

[1] Sir E. Troup, Under-Secretary, Home Office.

the Delegates to postpone the strike for a week, which it is understood they will be glad to do, and the delay will, it is believed, result in the whole design coming to naught. It will be a great feather in Horne's cap to have so conducted the negotiation that the miners are able to retreat from an impossible position without humiliation, indeed, with the credit of not being altogether destitute of communal spirit. It has now (4.30) been decided to publish the Order (strike or no strike), so that summer-time will continue till October 25th.

*September 27th.*—I saw Gainford this afternoon, who is one of those acting on behalf of the coal-owners at the conference with the miners now in session. He described their attitude as one of great soreness at what they regard as a defeat, and for the present they show no disposition to waive their demand that an increase of wages shall precede any undertaking to augment output. On the other hand, he confessed that the mine-owners, having for years maintained the keenest competition among themselves, were very slow to adapt their efforts to a common goal. For his part, too, he believed that the old system had been the best for the public in securing a large output at the minimum cost of production. These admissions, he did not seem to see, if put to the miners, were equivalent to a declaration that their case had much to justify it, seeing that it was open to them to argue that the results of which he was so proud had been achieved by a systematic exploitation of the miners, which it is the object of those who desire to place the industry on a stable basis of mutual interest to bring to an end.

This mutual irreconcilability of aim is, I am afraid, the real obstacle to any permanent understanding, and the rock upon which all negotiation is liable to split.

*October 9th.*—D'Abernon called to go through the ceremonial upon the occasion of his being sworn next week. I have received the instructions direct from His Majesty, no letter having come, as usual, from the Prime Minister. D'Abernon had a good deal that was interesting to say of the situation in Poland, and incidentally spoke in the highest praise of the work done by Rumbold. With the best intentions, Tower, on the other hand, at Dantzic, had not dealt with the perhaps insuperable difficulties of his position so successfully, though he admitted the strain upon a man so situated, without any force behind him, was overwhelming. The Poles, he said, lent themselves readily to any extravagance, but as a military feat the defence of Warsaw was one of the most complete in the records of war ; for whole divisions were hidden in the rear of the positions to which the Bolshevik army had pressed forward, and these appeared at the moment when their offensive was broken and destroyed the beaten foe.

*October 12th.*—I went to the Lord Chancellor's reception at

the House of Lords, and had a very good luncheon, notwithstanding the pressure of a motley crowd, gowned and wigged, and of more than average girth: there were some who might have stepped out of the caricatures of Cruikshank and his contemporaries, so graphically did they repeat the physical properties immortalised in the pages of Dickens.

Edward Alderson, who had just returned from Ireland, spoke with horror of what he had seen of the effects of reprisals: a whole country-side fleeing in terror from their devastated homes, which had been wrecked by the forces of order!

*October* 13*th*.—After two months' interval a heavy list of business awaited the King in Council this morning. D'Abernon and Willie Bridgeman were sworn. Horne took the Lord President's place; Horace Farquhar, Southborough, and Fritz Ponsonby, for the first time since his illness, were present. Horne was a long time with the King, having to narrate his adventures with the fomenters of the coal strike, which will inevitably become operative on Saturday.

D'Abernon expressed himself very confidently that no serious complications would arise from the occupation of Wilna by the Poles: the materials for an explosion, he said, did not exist, and, however inspired, the occurrence itself would have no appreciable effect on the situation. His own opinion was that Lithuania had no choice but to come to an accommodation with Poland.

*October* 18*th*.—Mr. Balfour and the Prime Minister had luncheon together yesterday, when Ireland was the sole topic of discussion. It appears that the policy now being pursued has every promise of success; the Prime Minister's speech is reported to have had an immense effect in Ireland, and the great passive mass of opinion which is *au fond* neither Sinn Fein nor Unionist, has awakened to the necessity of throwing off the yoke of the gang of murderers who have so long dominated their convictions. There is, it is declared, every reason to hope that in a short time evidence will be forthcoming to implicate the assassins, and, this step once achieved, the reign of terror will be at an end.

*October* 28*th*.—A good deal of agitation has been caused this week by the coincidence of resumed negotiations to bring the strike to an end and the promotion of emergency legislation to deal with the situation if the strike is prolonged or extended. The latter seems a somewhat unwise step to take with the other, and the Government's explanation has done little to remove the impression. The nerves of the Home Office have been severely shaken, as they were anxious to precipitate the return of the King, whose Proclamation would be the first step if the legislation in prospect was put into effect. No explanation has been offered why, in a matter of urgency, so cumbrous a process should be deemed necessary, and I ventured to do what I could to retard

any premature return of the King, which I found from Stamfordham would be very inconvenient and, as I thought, sure to produce a bad impression. As a matter of fact, the week has passed, the legislation is only just complete, and the King will be here on Monday, in ample time in the doubtful event of any further step being required. It is curious how far panic will lead sensible people: the one thing essential, if not in Parliament at least in a public office, is to keep your head cool and have your nerves under control.

*November 9th.*—At the Council this morning Shortt took Mr. Balfour's place, Colebrooke, Fritz Ponsonby, and Stanley Baldwin completing the number. The last two had been at their first school (Hawtrey's) together, and had never since met. Shortt thinks the crowd on Thursday may reach incalculable proportions, as there is no means of estimating the numbers who may respond to the invitation to form a reserve on the Parade Ground in readiness to join the procession past the Cenotaph, and if some evil-disposed person should choose the moment to launch a bomb into the crowd the consequences would be too terrible. It offers a greater opportunity for disposing of the whole Cabinet than that presented to the Cato Street conspirators.

*December 10th.*—Roddie, who is in England for eight days, came to see me yesterday. He has nothing but what is satisfactory to say of the disarmament of Germany, a process which will be complete when the powers of his commission expire in some nine months' time. The amount of material destroyed is immense. At the outset the discovery of it was a matter of some difficulty, as every kind of ingenuity had been exhausted in its concealment. The Government, however, have given the most loyal assistance by the offer of rewards and other inducements, and latterly the people themselves have actively co-operated, as, being intensely desirous of peace, they have come to recognise it is the best way to ensure it, for by so doing the two quarters from which danger may arise, the Reactionaries and the Extremists, are rendered impotent. Meanwhile, the economic position of Germany is still very bad, and Roddie does not attach much importance to the alleged activity of the export trade. The destitution of large classes is still very great, and, in the course of some domiciliary visits made under escort of the police among the dwellings of the *bourgeoisie*, he found terrible overcrowding, with whole families keeping to their beds, as they had no clothing and little nourishment. The obligation to send a large number of cows to France is the theme of universal complaint, as the present supply of milk is barely sufficient for the very young and the weaklings among children of maturer years, and the rest of the community have to go without it.

During a visit to Switzerland he made acquaintance with the

Ex-King of Greece and his consort, who were loud in their professions of goodwill towards England. Queen Sophie, indeed, went so far as to say her only wish for her daughter, a very beautiful and intelligent girl, was to see her married to an Englishman. The Ex-King's defence of his dealings with the Kaiser amounts to a confession that, believing him to be bound to win, he had to stand in to the extent of dissembling his friendliness to the *Entente*, and so mask his intentions to procure peace at all costs. He admits that his action was open to misconception and may have been maladroit, but he never faltered in his wish to preserve cordial relations with England.

*December 12th.*—We had a small luncheon party to enable Roddie to meet Ulrica Baring, as he is in such close association with the D'Abernons at Berlin, and he left with a very vivid impression of her charm and intelligence. I do not know a woman's judgment of more perfect poise and clearer grasp of fact. Grisell Cochrane-Baillie, the fair flower of a later generation, Julia Lady Tweeddale, and Algernon Cecil were also there. The last-named gave good accounts of his father, Lord Eustace, who at eighty-six still weathers the storm.

*December 20th.*—Mr. Balfour and Edward Laseelles[1] returned last night from Geneva, after four weeks of unremitting labour for the first-named. From the moment he was about until he went to bed, he was at the call of everyone interested in the progress of the deliberations; and, although at the formal meetings of the Assembly he exercised a wise economy of speech, his influence was paramount and all-pervading. Thus, on numerous occasions when, after a great volume of talk, there seemed no chance of reaching a conclusion, he would scribble on paper some formula and hand it to the President, whereupon it was adopted without demur. A signal instance of this was given in the rectification of the arrangement, which had been adopted under French influence, entrusting the defence of the free city of Dantzic to the Poles: this obvious mistake was corrected by sheer force of Mr. Balfour's winning manner and address without exciting objection from the French delegation, to which, of course, the extreme cordiality of his relations with M. Bourgeois greatly contributed.

It was curious how often the representatives of the Dominions differed from the English delegates, a circumstance which was a source of immense perplexity to the nominees of other nations, some of whom were disposed to take it as a sign of the imminent break-up of the British Empire. Thus, when Mr. Rowell declared that Canadian Ministers did not take their orders from British politicians, Mr. Balfour sat undisturbed, to the surprise of everyone. At one moment he said to his neighbours: "If five different points of view were possible on any question, I should not be

[1] Hon. Edward Lascelles, Private Secretary to Mr. Balfour.

surprised to find them severally advocated by the representatives of the five component parts of the Empire" ; whereupon an Australian Senator, who overheard the remark, broke in: "But only on matters of minor importance ; on vital questions we are all one."

It was interesting to learn from Lascelles, who had exceptional opportunities of conferring with American journalists, that, with the single exception of the representative of the "New York Herald," they one and all declared themselves enormously impressed by the proceedings and demeanour of the League.

*December* 21*st*.—The Prorogation Council was put off to 6 p.m., to give more time for the preparation of the King's Speech, which still had to be presented in an incomplete form in respect of the Agriculture Bill. The Lord President, Horace Farquhar, Colebrooke, and Worthington-Evans were present, and John Tilley was sworn on appointment as Ambassador to Brazil. In the afternoon the Marchese Imperiali called to take farewell of Mr. Balfour, and, as the one was early and the other late, I went into the Lord President's room to do the honours of the Office until its occupant came, as he was anxious to say farewell to the Ambassador and add to the many expressions of regret which his departure excites.

The only thing which in part reconciled him to leaving this country was his appointment to replace Tittoni on the League of Nations, a post that would at any rate maintain his relations with Mr. Balfour, upon which he set great value. Few of his predecessors have established themselves in the same close intimacy with Englishmen, and his feeling so at home here creates almost a sense of exile, now that he is going. He spoke with great earnestness of the King's kindness, and was immensely pleased at being given the G.C.B., a distinction which he knew enough of this country to value for its special character, as a very unusual, not to say unique, honour.

*December* 24*th*–28*th*.—With my daughter I spent Christmas at Euston, and, in spite of apprehensions of what the East Anglian climate might be like in mid-winter, we enjoyed for the whole four days the most spring-like weather, mild, with the most bountiful sunshine. They were hours which lent a peculiar charm to a land of wide horizons and gentle undulations, to which the woodlands clung in delicate draperies of blue and purple. The little church, which is a veritable mausoleum, has been much improved by the removal from the vault of the family coffin plates, some of great splendour, which have been inserted into the seventeenth-century panelling with very good effect. We had luncheon at Ickworth on Monday 28th, a truly marvellous witness to the grandiose pride of a prodigal virtuoso.

EUSTON HALL.

## 1921

*January 25th.*—Milner evinces a curious impatience to be quit of office, and has been, as appears from his letter, a little too ready to confide in the literal realisation of the Prime Minister's assurances. I was able, however, to give him this measure of security:

"Privy Council Office, Whitehall, S.W.1,
"*January 26th*, 1921.

"My dear Milner,

"Knowing your anxiety to be relieved, I ventured to urge upon Stamfordham the advantage of the King's holding a Council upon the evening of his return, and I cannot think there will now be any obstacle to your getting away the following day.

"The seals will be quite safe in His Majesty's custody till your successor presents himself.

"I dare not measure the loss the Government will suffer by your withdrawal.

"Believe me,
"Yours sincerely,
"Almeric FitzRoy."

Milner's departure means a loss of prestige difficult to repair; his very aloofness from public notice has bitten into the minds of many the great qualities of his work. At one moment of his career he was perhaps the dupe of the special atmosphere created by the policy of which he was the exponent; but his mistakes have never obscured the greatness of his aims, and an almost sublime honesty of purpose he always brought to the discharge of the highest responsibilities. He has never run away from the consequences of his acts.

*January 31st.*—I heard from the Archbishop of Canterbury on Friday, regretting he had not been able to see me on a matter of some urgency and asking us to dine at Lambeth on Monday. "A few bishops will be here with us," he wound up, "but you will not mind them." Next evening a second letter reached me, explaining his difficulty. This arose under the constitution of the Church Assembly, which precluded legislation until the reformed Convocation came into being, and that involved the dissolution of the present body, which hitherto has only taken place *pari passu* with the dissolution of Parliament. In compliance with his wishes, after consulting the authorities which I had at hand, I drew up the accompanying note, and obtained this morning Claud Schuster's subscription: "All this I stedfastly believe."

*Convocation* has undergone "No change of organisation from

the reign of Edward I" (*Stubbs*).[1] "The clergy are still summoned on the parliamentary Writ of the bishops to attend by their proctors at the Session of Parliament" (*Stubbs*).[1] Owing to the reluctance of the clergy and the failure of the efforts to compel attendance the Crown, from the 14th Edward III, acquiesced in the clerical tenths being granted in the provincial convocations and cared less about the attendance of the clergy in Parliament, but the common origin of the two assemblies is preserved in their prorogation and dissolution at the same time, for the resolution of the clergy to grant money in convocation secured for them a certain right of meeting whenever Parliament was called for the same purpose.

A convention which at the outset was a mere measure of convenience has in the process of centuries hardened into a more or less rigid practice.

Hence it is submitted that it is within the power of the Crown to modify the practice at will, though the form of the Writ may possibly require change.

Whether this is so or not, it might be expedient to include in the Bill now under consideration a clause declaratory of the power of the Crown to act in the way suggested.

The party at Lambeth was quite agreeable, all the other guests being in the Palace for the meeting of the Assembly. The Bishops included more than one old friend; the Archbishop of York so altered, I did not at first identify him; the Bishop of Coventry, whom I have known forty years, with his daughter; and Archdeacon Watkins, who was with me at Balliol; Lady Mary Trefusis, the Bishop of Wakefield, Miss Tait, and a few others, clergy and bishops *in partibus*. I settled with the Archbishop that, in the peculiar circumstances of the case, the best course would be to petition the King in Council for the dissolution of Convocation, upon which I felt sure the Privy Council would agree to advise His Majesty to act accordingly.

*February 1st.*—I had a long talk with Mr. Balfour this evening, who thoroughly approved the course I had encouraged the Archbishop to take. He disclaimed any taste for a narrow interpretation of the powers of the Crown in such a case, and did not anticipate that any difficulty would be raised by the Lord Chancellor, who, he said emphatically, is not a pedant: by the same reasoning he deprecated reference to the Law Officers.

*February 4th.*—I hear the Black-and-Tans took a pot-shot at Lord Dunraven the other day; probably nothing more than a drunken freak, but still an indication of the absence of control which distinguishes the force. On his way to the station his motor was brought to a halt by a party of these gentlemen, who charged him with obstructing their use of the highway, and, on

[1] "Const. Hist.," ed. 1875.

letting him go, opened fire as a warning to treat them with more respect in future.

*February 7th.*—Council at 6 p.m., which gave Milner the coveted opportunity of surrendering his Seals. The Lord President, Sandhurst, and F. Ponsonby also attended. Burdett-Coutts justified the two after-dinner rehearsals I had given him in Stratton Street by observing the rules of procedure with a stately ceremoniousness all his own. Indeed, it could hardly have been otherwise, as he had dwelt upon the subject for the last month with a concentration which suggested the belief that no more important event had occurred in recent history.

Not leaving the King out, the regret at Milner's retirement was felt by everyone. It is not often in these days that a Minister's disappearance creates the sense of a great figure gone, and one, moreover, whose detachment and restraint in the sphere of political passion places him on a somewhat solitary level of public veneration.

*February 8th.*—I have had from Roddie at Berlin a significant account of his reception some time ago by General von Kluck, whom, in company with some other German officers, he was asked to meet at luncheon. He was in great doubt over the attitude to be assumed towards them, and equally uncertain of the reception they might give him. They were arranged with barrack-room precision in front of the sofa, and for the moment gave him no index of what they expected. In his own words:

"I had little time to decide, and I was already half across the room when a glance at their faces put me thoroughly at ease. It was perfectly evident that the same question was occupying all of them, and anxious, questioning glances were being cast at v. Kluck, to whom I was to be first introduced.

V. Kluck, whom I saw for the first time, was a disappointing-looking person, small, with red cheeks, black hair and moustache, dressed in an ill-fitting frock-coat and worse-fitting broad-cloth trousers. He was about seventy years of age, and might have been fifty-five.

"'Excellenz General v. Kluck—Colonel Stewart Roddie.'

"V. Kluck's heels went together. He looked straight at me: I saw his eyes.

"I held my hand out: 'Excellenz,' I said, 'Ich freue——' And then I stopped, for v. Kluck had taken one step back and raised his right hand as if in protest. I stared at the man, and felt my face redden with annoyance. Had I made a mistake? I had felt myself in the position of being able to afford to be generous, and now—this!

"I was not left long in suspense, for after a suffocating silence —tho' it must have only been a momentary one—v. Kluck spoke.

"The distant roar of Niagara? The sound of the underground

when you live above it? The bass diapason of a big organ? Even now, I can't decide which of these three v. Kluck's voice reminded me of most.

"And what he said was no less astonishing than that with which he said it:

"'Herr Oberst [Colonel], there is one thing I wish to say to you before I take your hand. It is something which I always intended to say to the first British officer I met after the war.

"'*In the whole history of the world, there is, in my opinion, no military feat which has ever been excelled or equalled by that accomplished by the first British Army in the last war. My admiration for that Army is greater than I can express.*

"'And now'—and, instead of holding *up* his hand, he held it *out* to me—'I am glad to meet you.'

"We went in to lunch."

*February* 11*th.*—The first draft of the King's Speech came under my eyes yesterday for transmission to Mr. Balfour. It was bald in style and very laboured in the treatment of material, the phrase "My Ministers" appearing in tiresome iteration. I hear A. J. B. was seriously disturbed by its inadequacy and unimpressiveness, and devoted his morning's work in bed to recasting it; so we may hope something more worthy of the occasion may emerge.

*February* 14*th.*—A Council was held at six o'clock for the confirmation of the expected changes in the Government, Winston Churchill, Worthington-Evans, and Lord Lee of Fareham presenting themselves accordingly. Up to the last moment the Prime Minister's people were unable to say whether Winston was or was not to retain the Air Seals, and the point was only settled in the affirmative while I was on my way to Buckingham Palace.

*February* 19*th.*—Mr. Balfour's dinner last night for settling the roll of Sheriffs for the ensuing year was not such a *bruyant* affair as last year, for Winston Churchill and the Chancellor took opposite sides, and thus neutralised each other. I was placed between Eric Geddes and Hamar Greenwood. The first-named is very inarticulate, even on his own job; all his weight is in his physique: however, he was of some use in dealing with the claim of a railway chairman to be excused, describing his obligations as a one-day-a-week business at the outside.

Winston was quite amusing in his opposition to a clergyman (unbeneficed) being allowed to serve as High Sheriff for a Welsh county, and drew a moving picture of the possible appearance of two parsons on the scaffold, one engaged in administering religious consolation to the condemned criminal, while the other was adjusting the noose.

Hamar Greenwood still insists that he is winning all along the line, and admits his obligations to some of the local gentry,

who, without committing themselves to his support, command the respect of a disaffected people. He does not minimise his difficulties nor attempt to deny the excesses of the " party of order," but still claims that he is wearing down the forces of disorder. One cannot help admitting his courage and the resolution with which he faces a situation calculated to daunt the most confident.

*February 21st.*—At Freddie Bentinck's suggestion I sent a few lines of appreciation to this morning's " Times " in memory of " Blackie " Hope, which, so far as such things go, may, I hope, have carried some satisfaction to the hearts of those who mourn him most. No one was more entitled to the best that love and friendship could give him.

" The Late Sir Edward Hope

" ' An Old Friend ' writes :

" The passing of high character deserves something more in the way of elegiac notice than the bare record of the facts of life and death, and I think it would be grateful to the many friends who mourn Sir Edward Hope if something a little more personal and appreciative was said about him. The difficulty lies in the circumstance that, with him, the effect came as an emanation of fine quality, so restrained in its manifestations, so little buttressed by self-concern, and so complete in its subtle accords and delicate assonances, that even a close observer might not realise until afterwards the full force of the impression.

" His judgments were shrewd but always kindly, the bent of his soul was compassionate, the tendency of his thought indulgent. It may be true of mankind at large that the only liberty it can claim is to choose the form of its own suffering, but he enjoyed a wider freedom in the diffusion of his own generosity. His natural disposition came closer than that of most to realising the philosopher's precept, ' It is not for us to laugh at, nor to regret, still less to abhor the passions of men, but rather to understand them.'

" In addition to more than thirty years of private friendship, it was given to the present writer to enjoy ten of close association with him in the intercourse of official life. There was none more conscientious in the discharge of his duties, more enlightened and equitable in temper. As Registrar of the Privy Council, he was in contact with eminent Judges of every variety of temperament and sensitiveness, but it is not too much to say that he commanded the respect and confidence of them all. To the last he never spared himself in public duty, and, though not far short of seventy at the opening of the war, he served throughout its course as a special constable of a most untiring charaeter, and

thereby in all likelihood sowed the seeds of the malady that brought his most upright and useful life to a close.

" ' Quis desiderio sit pudor aut modus
Tam cari capitis ? ' "

*March* 31*st.*—It was fortunate I had not counted on the opportunities of a long holiday, as I found the air full of prospective industrial trouble which culminated in an urgent demand this afternoon for an immediate Council to pass a Proclamation under the recent Act declaring a state of emergency. In less than an hour from the information reaching me, I had arranged with Stamfordham for a Council at Windsor not later than 6.50, as the King was dining early and going to the local theatre for the celebration of Warriors' Day. I left the Office a little late with the necessary papers, in order to join Shortt at St. James's Court, whence we got away at 5.45 and entered the great quadrangle at Windsor just as the clock struck 6.45. We came down in a police-car, and a very vibrant one, but superlatively driven by a young constable and carrying a burly detective on the box-seat, who, as the stock police agent of French fiction, looked as little like his profession as possible. We took it more slowly on the return journey, reaching London at 8.15.

*April* 1*st.*—The emergencies of the moment created the necessity for a second Council this afternoon, as it was requisite to approve at once the Regulation made under yesterday's Proclamation, which had mercifully been in draft for some time. It also proved necessary to issue a Proclamation summoning Parliament, as, although the House of Commons meets on Monday, it had yesterday escaped notice that the House of Lords, with the usual *insouciance* of Government Whips, had been adjourned until the 12th, thus creating the situation of " Parliament " not being in Session. Shortt, Stamfordham, and F. Ponsonby again formed the attendance, though most of the afternoon was occupied in trying to find someone to take the Home Secretary's place, as he had arranged to attend a Committee at 4 o'clock. Personally I was glad of his failure to obtain a substitute, as he is a very pleasant companion for a long drive, though he admitted that sharing his motor was to expose one's life to considerable risk !

The Royal Party had been spending the afternoon at Hawthorn Hill, where the Prince of Wales had been successful in winning his first steeplechase with great *éclat*.

Shortt assured me that the efforts to protect Ministers were by no means superfluous, direct evidence being in existence that the Prime Minister, Hamar Greenwood, and himself were special objects of Sinn Fein enmity. When he was in Scotland fishing last autumn, Basil Thomson had insisted upon his whereabouts

being kept secret by the not very clever device of sending his letters to a house some distance away. Even this device, however, was rendered nugatory, as Shortt always has his whisky from an Irish firm, whose employees were no doubt conspirators, and a consignment had been sent at his desire direct to his residence.

*April 5th.*—The King came to London for the Council, at which the ministerial changes announced on Saturday took formal effect. F. Guest and Horne received the seals of Secretary of State and Chancellor of the Exchequer respectively, and took the oath of office, while Baldwin and Sir A. Mond were sworn severally President of the Board of Trade and Minister of Health, Peel, after the Council, being installed Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster.

Horne spoke with great despondency of the present aspect of the coal dispute: the men have most unhappily been got at by a deliberate propaganda designed to make them believe that a conspiracy is on foot to lower wages once and for all below a standard consistent with decent conditions of life, and the same propaganda is being used to convince other cognate industries that their only hope of avoiding the same fate is to throw in their lot with the miners. Horne looked with dismay at the burdens this month would cast upon him, as the coal negotiations must remain in his hands, while he had to take up the whole responsibilities of the Exchequer. He appeared, however, much the better for his fortnight at Cannes, which he enjoyed immensely. Bonar Law was, he said, already very much better.

*April 8th.*—After an agitating week of conflicting hopes and dubious indications, which made policy from hour to hour uncertain, things reached a pitch this afternoon leading to a sudden call for the King's presence in London as, before the issue of the Proclamations necessary, it was obligatory on Ministers to lay before both Houses of Parliament an announcement of what was coming; this, by the Statute, took the form of a Royal Message under the Sign-manual. A Council was therefore convened at Buckingham Palace a quarter of an hour after Parliament had had cognisance of what was coming. Stamfordham came up with the King, Worthington-Evans took the Lord President's place, Ian Macpherson, Lord Lincolnshire, and Colebrooke being also impressed, as it was uncertain up to the last moment whether the summonses had reached those for whom they were intended, and a further element of doubt was created by the time being brought on a quarter of an hour, in order to facilitate the King's return to Windsor. He was very good-natured about the whole business, and apologised to the Council for being in brown shoes!

This was the second day of the Wakeford appeal, upon which I looked in several times during the proceedings. The appellant appears to have no case that would justify a reversal of the decision obtained below. The object of Carson's methods of ad-

vocacy seemed directed to overawe witnesses for the prosecution. His manner towards a weak witness was sufficient to reduce him to pulp, but produced no effect on those who stood up to him.

*April 18th.*—The Wakeford case closed, judgment being promised on the 26th. The continuation of Carson's speech occupied the whole morning, its general effect being infinitely better than the impression created by his cross-examination. He perhaps put a little too prominently the theory of a conspiracy, where I should have been disposed to make more of the contradictions and vitiated atmosphere of a good deal of the evidence. He and Lady Carson had luncheon in my room, when he enjoyed half an hour of complete rclaxation and was led to talk most intimately from the sources of his own experience.

Douglas Hogg's reply for the Prosecution was a triumph of ingenious pleading ; he made his points with great skill, and, with consummate address, enlisted on behalf of his own case much of the evidence called by the other side. Judgment to be delivered on 26th.

*April 21st.*—Sir A. Lawrence, the new Lord Chief Justice, called to go through the ceremony upon being sworn to-morrow. He admitted that his inclinations at seventy-seven were towards repose, whereas he was now undertaking more arduous and responsible duties. Hamar Greenwood telephoned to know whether he might enjoy a summons, as he had just arrived from Ireland and understood important business relating to that country was to be taken at the Council, in consideration of which I thought proper to gratify his desire, though we were already five in consequence of my having asked Fritz Ponsonby to be present in case Horace Farquhar, who desired to come, should fail at the last moment.

*April 22nd.*—They all turned up at the Council, including the Lord President for the first time since February 14th, the Archbishop of Canterbury, in view of the special Orders relating to the dissolution of Convocation, and Edmund Talbot, who was declared " Lieutenant-General and General Governor " of Ireland in due form. So far, it appeared I had done the right thing in calling Greenwood, as the King gave him audience after the Council.

Horace Farquhar's appearance was wonderful after the drastic operation he underwent barely two months ago. The curious effect of his evisceration has been to restore to him some mental vigour.

A note from Edmund Talbot is couched in terms of great friendliness. I had told him how particularly I congratulated Ireland upon his being selected to inaugurate the new order in that distracted country. " I do not know," I added, " who could have been called more justly to so great a task."

The Archbishop expressed his pleasure at being present, when, for the first time in the long story of Convocation, it had been dissolved apart from the dissolution of Parliament.

*April 30th.*—The prolongation of the coal crisis, taken with difficulties which are likely to arise when the men begin to return to work, has induced the Government to renew by Proclamation the declaration of a state of emergency and to re-enact, with some drastic additions, the Regulations now in force. For that object a Council was held to-day, attended by Mr. Balfour, Sandhurst, Colebrooke, and Willie Bridgeman, Secretary for Mines, who had an audience of the King in order to give him all the information available.

*May 27th.*—The date of another Council was postponed to the end of the emergency period, in order to cover, if necessary, its prolongation by a further Proclamation, which was accordingly issued to-day. Mr. Balfour, looking rather the worse for the treatment of his eczema by the application of starch, was able to attend. In addition to Horace Farquhar and Fritz Ponsonby, I got Baldwin to come for the King's information upon the state of the coal crisis. The point on which His Majesty seems to feel strongly is the mobilisation of the Reserves at such a heavy cost to the country, and, while the Lord President was with him, I was called in, to satisfy them that the renewal of the Proclamation did not prevent the relaxation of these conditions at the pleasure of the Executive.

Later I had luncheon with Baldwin, fresh from the Prime Minister's address to both parties, which he described as very straightforward and effective. One of his best points was the apathy engendered in the public mind by the constant occurrence of strikes. People's passive attitude was dictated by the belief that a patient acceptance of the position would in the long run prove the best weapon against its repetition, in so far as it imbued both miners and owners with a distrust in its efficacy to enforce the will of either at the expense of the community. Baldwin was much struck by the impossibility of reading any sign of feeling, one way or the other, in the faces of the men: they betrayed no emotion, and afforded no clue to their thoughts and disposition, hardly even to the extent of evincing much interest in the proceedings. The only practical suggestion was that the Duke of Northumberland should be placed under lock and key.

In the afternoon we attended the opening of the new theatre of the Academy of Dramatic Art by the Prince of Wales, who played his part with an attractive sincerity which enhanced the warmth of his reception. A performance followed, for only a small part of which I was able to wait.

*May 28th.*—The Foreign Office has been much flustered by the

alleged intrusion of soldiers in Germany into the secret circle of diplomacy, and the Secretary of State has been impelled to write a characteristic despatch, blaming these "knights errant" for their impetuosity. In one case, and that the most important, a mare's-nest was discovered. The Consul-General at Munich informed the Foreign Office that von Kahr, the Bavarian Prime Minister, had stated, on the authority of an English officer, that Lloyd George was at heart opposed to the disbandment of the Bavarian volunteers, and it was determined to drag the name of this peccant soldier to light; but all the efforts of the Ambassador failed to establish his identity. At last the evidence of von Kahr himself was obtained, who blew the whole story to pieces by declaring that he had never made such an allegation, and that no officer had ever said anything of the sort.

*May 30th.*—I presided at a conference, convened by desire of Mr. Balfour and Winston Churchill, to bring about an accommodation between the Imperial Mineral Resources Bureau and the Imperial Institute in respect of the publication of monographs on minerals used in industry. The position had become very strained owing to the Director of the Institute, after leaving a letter unanswered for more than a year, having shown an obstinate reluctance to be bound by any agreement.

*June 4th.*—The revival of the "Trooping of the Colour" upon the Parade Ground, after the lapse of seven years, was hailed with delight, and, but for the counter-attraction at Eton, the throng would have been enormous. As it was, I had to provide an improvised stand of tables and chairs. The spectacle lacked sunshine, but in all other respects proved a great success. The Desarts with their granddaughter, the Duchess of Grafton, Lady Betsy Gore, Lady Hylton and daughter, and Lady Sandhurst were there.

*June 8th.*—We had luncheon at Claridge's with Algernon Cecil to meet the Austrian Minister, Baron Franckenstein. Lady Exeter, Lady Chelmsford, Lord Rayleigh, W. Ormsby Gore and Lady Beatrice and Mrs. Wilfrid Ward composed the party. I had some talk with Lady Chelmsford about India.

Sir R. Stout, Chief Justice of New Zealand, who is to be sworn on Friday, paid me a visit. He has been fifty-nine years in the country, and is now seventy-seven; a native of the Shetlands, he is a thorough old gentleman, courteous and benign, with a strong attachment to the country of his adoption, upon which the range of his information is most extensive. It seems the only part of the British Empire with a native question which has been worked out on generous lines and with complete success.

*June 10th.*—At the Council this morning Mr. Massey, the Premier of New Zealand, was present to meet the Chief Justice on admission to the Privy Council, and Sandhurst, who had made

friends with Stout thirty years ago when he visited the country, came by his own desire.

*June 19th.*—I cannot but fear an error has been committed in urging the King to open the Ulster Parliament. The objections are both obvious and weighty. Apart from personal risk, which is probably inconsiderable, the act cannot be divested of a sectional aspect. The autonomy of the six counties is doubtless regarded in many quarters as a permanent obstacle to Irish union, and as such is hateful to the great majority of Irishmen, and to no section of them so distasteful as the loyalists of the South and West, on the ground that it will prolong the period of dissidence and prove therefore disturbing to the dream of a contented Ireland. It may, too, be looked upon as a capitulation to intrigues that have for their object the overthrow of those ideals for which the Convention laboured and almost succeeded in bringing to pass. I had luncheon with old Lady Howe, who is still, at eighty-eight, a marvel of activity. The Abingdons were there, and were able to say that Edmund Talbot is so far convalescent that his doctors permit him to leave London to-morrow, but how he will get through the fatigues of the next few days remains to be seen. His own indomitable courage is his strongest asset. I was glad to have it confirmed, on his authority, that, so far as the King is concerned, the opportunities of attack are no greater than those which present themselves on any day upon which he encounters a crowd. Lord Abingdon declared that any injury he suffered in Belfast would probably be followed by a massacre of a large section of the Catholic population. The difficulty of finding a priest to undertake the offices of the Church for the Viceregal party has been immense: finally, a man has been obtained whose relations with the Viceroy will be limited to the barest performance of the sacred rites.

*June 30th.*—At the Council on Monday opportunity was taken to swear Mr. Meighen, Prime Minister of Canada, and Sir Horace Rumbold, High Commissioner of Constantinople, both of whom had been *appointed* some months ago.

The King was good enough to thank me very cordially for my book, "Henry, Duke of Grafton," sent him two days earlier, and, in obedience to a request made through Stamfordham, I "inscribed" it before I left the Palace. I have had the accompanying agreeable letters from Mr. Balfour and Lord Morley, in acknowledgment of presentation copies.

"4 Carlton Gardens, Pall Mall, S.W.1,
"*June 25th*, 1921.

"My dear Almeric FitzRoy,

"Very many thanks for your Monograph on the founder of your family, with some of whose descendants I am, as you say,

connected by marriage. I shall read it with the greatest interest, and am most grateful to you for sending it to me.

"Yours sincerely,

"Arthur James Balfour."

"Flowermead, Princes Road,
"Wimbledon Park, S.W.,
"*June 26th*, 1921.

"Dear Sir Almeric,

"I take your gift as a particular kindness. I have spent a delightful time this fine day in turning over its cheerful and instructive pages. It only makes me the more regret that I did not, or could not, make better literary use of our association. I prize the volume, and very cordially thank you for thinking of me.

"Yours,

"Morley of B."

Lord Rosebery, to whom I also sent one, replied in two lines of poignant emphasis:

"Many thanks for your book. In my present condition a new book which promises to be interesting is a boon not to be exaggerated."

*July 1st.*—Last night we had a small dinner to welcome Lady Willingdon on her return to England for a few weeks. The Graftons, Mrs. Pitt-Rivers, F. Wallop, and Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler, Principal of the University of Columbia, and one of the leading citizens of the United States. He had the Vice-Presidential nomination of his party in 1912, and was in the running for the Presidency last year; he is a great friend of Harding's, and has been entrusted by him with a delicate mission to the British Government upon the present financial difficulties affecting the two countries: it is also suspected that he holds a watching brief from the President in restraint of any indiscretions Colonel Harvey may be inclined to. Butler impressed us all as a man of great powers and indefatigable energy, both inspired by the liveliest good-will to this nation and adorned by the graces of a courteous and conciliatory manner. Lady Willingdon, whom he took in to dinner, found him most agreeable.

*July 2nd.*—The Presentation of Colours to eight battalions of the Guards was a most splendid and moving spectacle; all the details were worked out with marvellous precision, and with very little margin of space three thousand men were moved about upon the Parade Ground without a hitch. Moments of tense feeling, as the old Colours were surrendered, stirred all hearts. The Desarts, Dr. Nicholas Butler, wife and daughter, the Duke

and Duchess of Grafton and Miss Borthwick, Sir Ernest Cassel and Miss Ashley, Miss Phayre, a great American heiress, and one or two others.

*July 6th.*—By the deaths, following close on one another, of Lord Eustace Cecil and Lord Balfour of Burleigh, I am the poorer for the disappearance of two men whose friendship I enjoyed and valued. The former already belonged to the past, but in my recollection his old age had a mellowness and a dignity that were both an example and a spiritual stimulus. In such a death, as Dante says in the "Convito," "there is no place for tears nor any trace of bitterness." With Lord Balfour my association in personal and official life was close and intimate, and I had learnt to esteem the integrity of his mind and the force of his ties with truth. There is nothing he would not do to establish uprightness and vindicate the peremptoriness of its claims. As a politician, he had a closer affinity with the temper of the late Duke of Devonshire than any other I could name. His straightforwardness sometimes savoured of bluntness; long years ago, I remember him saying to me across the dinner-table, "I will do anything the Privy Council tell me, but I am damned if I will take any orders from the Home Office." He was then Secretary for Scotland, whose functions had not been long withdrawn from the Home Department.

*July 8th.*—Last night I went to the State Ball, and for more than an hour bore up against heat and fatigue. I was repaid by one interesting conversation.

In the great picture-gallery at Buckingham Palace, surrounded by the coruscations of one of the most brilliant phases of pictorial art, I had the opportunity of gleaning from Lord Lee the thoughts that were at the back of his mind in conferring upon the nation, in trust for the occupation of her Prime Ministers, the splendid house of Chequers.

Looking upon the future with a vision that drew from the contemplation of the past a sense of the tradition which had for generations insensibly moulded English statesmanship, he saw that in the ranks of Prime Ministers to come there would be many who, by the circumstances of their birth and training, would not have the advantage of that tradition. He had thence the dream—who will deny it the potency of a living force?—that by placing them in a house which commemorated the impulse of attachment to the soil, of natural liberty, and the beauty of an ordered excellence in civic life, much would be done to give a bent to emotion and a shape to policy which might be fruitful, while preserving the instinct of popular freedom, to connect it with the hallowed memories of a stately and remote association.

He had already—such was his implication—seen the effect of these ideas on the mobile and impressionable spirit of the present

Prime Minister, and he had the notion that, years after his own disappearance and the effacement of his name from public recollection, he would in effect be still shaping the course of events through the subtle ties of the domestic sanctities and of a secular human interest.

*July 16th.*—Einstein, who is in London, met Lord Rayleigh at Lady Rothschild's, and, after he had unfolded his teaching at some length, Lord Rayleigh interrupted: "If your theories are sound, I understand it is open to us to affirm that the events, say, of the Norman Conquest have not yet occurred"—a way of putting it which disconcerted the philosopher not a little.

Lady ——, travelling in Italy, thought to improve her maid's mind by urging her to visit the picture-galleries. After two or three experiments in this direction she tried to discover the impression produced, but did not pursue the subject further when the maid replied: "Well, my lady, I shall not be sorry if I never see another virgin in the course of my life."

*July 25th.*—Owing to the lack of forethought which seems engrained in the Irish Government, a Council was necessary, before the King went to Goodwood, for an Order postponing the "appointed day" for a variety of changes that would otherwise have come into operation on August 2nd long before the time was ripe. The question, too, of the prorogation had come up, and the steps that should be taken in connection with the approval of the King's Speech, when he was in Scotland. Stamfordham had raised the question a few days ago, which I dealt with in a Memo. to Mr. Balfour, sending a copy to Stamfordham for the King's confirmation, which is inserted below. I found His Majesty had accepted my view without reservation, and Mr. Balfour, on his arrival, acceded forthwith, pronouncing very firmly upon the folly of Ministers tying themselves up with conditional formulæ in matters where practice was merely dictated by convenience.

"There is nothing to show that any constitutional sanction attaches to the approval of the King's Speech after a Council.

"It is certain, on the other hand, that such approval is no part of the business of the King in Council, and it appears probable that the practice is the result of convenience hardening into custom.

"In the old days Councils were usually attended by a large number of Cabinet Ministers, and the moment, therefore, was favourable for a formal act of the Crown in combination with Ministers; but now, in normal circumstances, the Lord President is the only Cabinet Minister present, and, so far as the presence of a second is concerned, it has been due to my efforts to secure it, in order that the Lord President should have the countenance of a colleague, if any alteration is required at the last moment.

"It was only in my time that the authentication of the approved document by the Sign-manual was introduced, and, now that the practice is formalised, it is clear that the King's approval can be as regularly obtained in that way as for any other Act of State for which it is requisite.

"On these grounds I submit that, at the dictate of convenience, the King's approval of the Speech could be signified upon the document being sent to Balmoral in a box, if Parliament has to be prorogued while he is there, the Prorogation Commission having been passed at the last Council His Majesty holds before his departure to take effect upon the day upon which the Royal Assent is given to the last Act of the Session in being.

"A. F.

"*July* 22*nd*, 1921."

The King kept me for some minutes after the Council and gave his views with sagacious emphasis, so that all difficulty disappears, and the King's Speech will be approved on despatch to Balmoral in a box, without the preliminary of a Council: a step which years ago Queen Victoria denounced as "revolutionary." The King also described the steps he should take for holding emergency Councils in Scotland, to several of which the Irish Government Act may give rise, and I was only too glad to meet his views in the patriotic intention of saving both trouble and money.

Talking of the burden of obligation now placed on Ministers, Mr. Balfour, who was seventy-three to-day, spoke somewhat pathetically of his efforts to pull his weight in the boat, whereupon I could not help saying he served to pull the weight of one or two others.

I had luncheon at Crewe House, where I met Lady Sybil and Charles Grant, the Ernles, Mrs. Henniker and Mr. Sastri, one of the Indian delegates at the Imperial Conference. Lord Crewe was very kind about my book, which he thought just the right length and very well proportioned. He congratulated me on the excellent Press I had enjoyed. Lady Crewe was extremely pleasant, as she always is, and I liked her sister, whom I had never met before. Sastri struck me as a man of quick intelligence and agreeable manners, with all an Oriental's adaptability. He had been at Simla just before he left India, and had met my daughter.

*August* 2*nd*.—A letter from Roddie at Berlin gives the following authentic account of the events of the fatal days preceding the Ex-Kaiser's flight to Holland: nothing that I have seen paints more vividly the dramatic import of the event, or touches more faithfully the true catastrophe of his downfall.

## The Last Days at Spa

Many stories regarding the Kaiser during the last fateful days at Spa are current, and more or less garbled versions of the truth are frequently heard.

This contains only facts related to me by General Groener, who succeeded Ludendorff as Chief of Staff in October 1918, and was in close association with the Kaiser, and by Prince Max of Baden, who was Prime Minister at the time.

Groener is widely blamed as having been the instigator of and prime mover in the "Flight to Holland." Groener himself says that he was always firmly opposed to it, and places the responsibility on the "inner circle," the Camarilla whose one thought then—a pardonable one, perhaps—was to save the life of the Kaiser. It was the real fear of the assassination of the Kaiser *by his own men* that induced his friends to send him away.

General Groener was appointed to the G.H.Q. on October 21st, 1918. Already the conditions existing in the German Army were such as to cause not only doubt, but grave apprehension. In the front lines discipline was still being maintained, but in the communicating lines, and farther behind, things were different. There Communism was freely discussed, Bolshevist ideas were not only being conceived and spread, but applauded. Reports from the interior of Germany, contained mostly in letters from starving and suffering wives and relatives, fed the flame of discontent: "Put an end to it: if They up there can't do it, then we will." It was apparent to practically everyone—except the Kaiser himself—that the process of disintegration had set in. "A new enemy was creeping up to administer the stab in the back."

"In my opinion," said Groener, "there was only one thing that might even then have stopped the Revolution, and that I strongly urged. If the Kaiser and his Staff had gone out and led an attack, if the Kaiser had fallen or even been wounded, there would have been such a flood of sentimental feeling through the country that the dynasty would—or at least might—have been saved. I spoke of this to the officers of the G.H.Q. Many agreed with me, and declared themselves ready to go out and fall with him. But it never got beyond the 'inner circle,' and the Kaiser, *who had all along hated the idea of the war*"—Groener, like all who knew the inner history, was absolutely emphatic on this point—"was never told.

"On November 2nd a 'Review' was held for him: a public performance arranged for a star turn; a last despairing appeal by the 'phenomenal attraction' for a proof of popularity. But the show was 'dud,' and when the curtain fell there was not even one of the 'dressers'—not one of that 'inner circle' usually

so ready with a way out—who could sweep a clear path for him through the dust of delusion.

" But later the salve was served. ' It was a bad day; the men were tired; rations had not come up,' and so on. Reasons for everything—reasons, but never the truth. If the Kaiser had believed, then, that by sacrificing his life he could save his dynasty or his country, he would without doubt have done it. But there was no one to tell him, and he never knew.

" The idea of leaving the country, suggested many times during the last fateful days, was wholly repugnant to him. He was quite convinced that he had only to show himself again to his people—only to be seen leading his Army back to Berlin—to change the whole trend of feeling. When ultimately persuaded that a change could not be wrought thus, he still clung to his idea of marching back at the head of his troops to fight—if necessary—the revolutionaries.

" Ever since the first battle of the Marne he was tortured with doubt as to the ultimate result of the war. He had nothing to do with the conduct of the war. He was seldom consulted, and never allowed to make a decision in anything that mattered. Even before the days of Ludendorff and Hindenburg it was made quite clear to him that he was there to be seen and not to be heard. [Rossner's book, " Der König," is interesting on this particular point, and confirms Groener's statement.]

" Probably the last time he had taken a stand of his own was before the march into Luxemburg. He refused flatly to consent to this breach of neutrality, until at last Moltke went to him while he lay in bed, and said: ' Your Majesty, we are going to wait no longer. We are *going* into Luxemburg.'

" After the review fiasco of November 2nd things went from bad to worse. The news from Berlin were terribly disquieting. The Prime Minister, Prince Max of Baden, ill in Berlin but working feverishly night and day, saw the jaws of the Revolution yawning in front of him, and begged for the abdication of the Kaiser to throw to them. Had this come in time, the dynasty might have been saved. [Prince Max believed then that such would have been the case, but he was unaware of the conditions existing in the Army just as the G.H.Q. were not fully cognisant of the seriousness of the conditions in the interior.]

" On the morning of the 10th [?] a message was received by Prince Max: ' The Kaiser has *decided* to abdicate.' This was immediately published and thrown by Prince Max into the mouth of the Revolution, but too late. Later in the afternoon another message came from Spa: ' The Kaiser abdicates as German Emperor, but not as King of Prussia.' The Prime Minister explained that the abdication of the Kaiser had already been published. The revolution was declared, and nothing

could now be done. (Since this, Prince Max has been reviled by the Hohenzollerns and the monarchists as having traitorously published the abdication.)

"Meantime, at Spa the Kaiser had been fighting against the abdication aided and abetted by the 'circle.' On the morning of that last day, he had actually decided to abdicate, and the message was telephoned to Berlin. Later—probably suggested as a new and ingenious idea by the 'circle'—the second message was sent.

"On receiving the Prime Minister's reply to this, the Kaiser stated his intention of marching at the head of his Army to Berlin and fighting the revolutionaries.

"And then . . . he was told!

"He must not trust himself with his Army. His Army was no longer loyal to him. His life would not be safe. He must flee secretly to another country.

"I think his life ended in that awful moment. He said nothing, just looked—looked from one to another, with an expression first of amazement, then piteous appeal, and then—just a curious, wondering, vagueness. He said nothing, and we took him—just as if he were a little child—and sent him to Holland."

BERLIN,
*June 29th*, 1921.

*August 10th.*—At the Council to-day, which was held for the passing of an Order providing for the prorogation of Parliament in due course, and clearing off all the business that could be got ready in view of the cessation of Councils, except for emergency business, during the next two months, Shortt took it for the Lord President, supported by A. G. Boscawen, Colebrooke, and F. Ponsonby. The King leaves London to-morrow for Bolton, an exchange of the close atmosphere of politicians for the free air of the moors which must be highly gratifying.

*August 18th.*—I was sent for this morning to Downing Street, where the Cabinet was sitting to advise upon the exact position of the Prorogation Order, if, as seemed almost certain, an adjournment would have to be substituted in order to keep the present Session in being, should the progress of the Irish negotiations require the attention of Parliament. I saw Austen Chamberlain, and believed I had satisfied him that, so long as any act of the present Session was, or might be, waiting for the Royal Assent, the terms of the Order were wide enough to cover the postponement of the prorogation. He thought there would be no difficulty about that, and I left him and the Lord Chancellor, whom I saw for a minute, apparently content with that solution. However, I took the trouble to complete a Memo. on all the

aspects of the problem, which the Home Secretary and the Prime Minister had asked for, in time for the consideration of the Cabinet when it met again in the evening.

It was, therefore, with great surprise I learnt, when I reached home about seven, that it was in contemplation to ask the King to hold a Council at Bolton during the coming night, to revoke the Order. I repaired at once to my office, to get things ready, and thence to the Home Office, where I learnt that Shortt and Willie Bridgeman were going to Bolton by special train at eight o'clock, and that Shortt's Private Secretary was arranging with Wigram to act for me. I was not sorry to be out of it, as the demand upon the King's convenience struck me as wholly uncalled for, and the action taken would involve a heavy charge upon the Exchequer, at the moment when a rampant crusade for economy was being prosecuted.

*August 19th.*—I had a telegram from Wigram that the Council had been held at 2 a.m. I was moved to send Schuster an emphatic expression of my opinion on the futility of the whole proceeding, which elicited an evasive reply. If I am called upon to justify the outlay to the Treasury, I shall decline. The plea that the Chancellor could not be responsible for the failure to comply with an express command is invalid. The first part of the Order provides for the prorogation upon the fulfilment of a certain condition, which the direction to the Lord Chancellor follows, and so long as there was plausible ground for holding that the condition was still open to fulfilment at a later date, there was not even an implicit obligation on the Chancellor to do anything. Hence all the trouble and expense has been incurred for a punctilio !

*September 8th–19th.*—I got away for eleven days, which was the limit of unbroken holiday I felt able to take.

I was a week at Heron Court, which I spent mainly on the demesne, though I made two expeditions by motor, the first to Wimborne and the Haven Hotel, a delightfully placed hostelry at the mouth of Poole Harbour, with as lovely a coast-line as could be desired immediately before your eyes ; and the second to Edward Goschen's charmingly situated villa, which has nothing but a stretch of grass between the garden and the edge of the cliff, where the entrance to the Solent and the heights above the Needles compose an enchanting picture. On the way back we touched at the church, where I stood by the grave of Assheton Curzon-Howe, as fine a sailor as I ever knew, and a most incomparable gentleman !

On the 15th I joined my wife at Southampton on her return from Versailles and put in four days at Broadlands, where we met Sir Felix and Lady Helen Cassel, Sir Eustace Fiennes, Governor of Seychelles, and Sir Morgan and Lady Crofton, absentees from

Roscommon. Broadlands, both inside and out, fulfils my requirements of what a country place should be as perfectly as any I know, and, except for a wet Saturday afternoon, when they were shooting, the note of summer still lingered.

The younger Ashley girl is growing up with the promise of considerable beauty, and has charming manners ; her hair has a colour which recalls some of the deeper tints of champagne or the rich white wines of Burgundy. Felix Cassel has all the qualities of the best type of Englishman.

*September 26th.*—It is curious that I have next to mention Ernest Cassel's funeral, which we attended this morning at the Jesuit Church in Farm Street. So large and varied a congregation was testimony enough to the esteem in which the dead man had come to be held, in spite of all the prejudices to the contrary. I do not know that his claims to the hospitality of the Catholic Church had been conspicuous since he joined it, until he entrusted himself to its supreme mercies. The celebrant, Father Ryan, is one of the most striking figures to be seen in the militia of that great communion.

*October 10th.*—I saw Mr. Doherty, late Minister of Justice in Meighen's Administration, who is to be sworn to-morrow, a ceremony we have just been able to get in before his return to Canada after some weeks at Geneva as representative of the Dominion. He is sensible of a distinct change in the atmosphere of the Assembly towards the objects of the League, and is inclined to attribute it in no small measure to the influence of Mr. Balfour. I heard, some days ago, from Baldwin that Fisher had described him " as a head and shoulders above us all," and Mr. Doherty had been immensely struck by the " consummate skill " with which he had handled several awkward situations and the moral earnestness time and experience had infused into his methods of interpreting the League's mission.

I suggested that his own sympathy, as a Catholic, with that mission must have been influenced by the part played in the past by the greatest of the Popes, as the pioneers and forerunners of the League in the efficacious working towards cognate ends—a suggestion which led him to tell me that for the first time in the history of its sessions a letter of good-will had been received from the Pope, whose beneficent sympathy might well be given some permanent form. Of course, as he confessed, the envoy of His Holiness could not be there as the representative of a nation, but he agreed that the presence of a Papal Legate might, as the standing symbol of a great moral force, not be unacceptable to non-Catholic opinion, while it would have an immense effect in stimulating the zeal of Catholic peoples, whose interest in the operations of the Assembly was still imperfectly awakened.

*October 12th.*—Council at Buckingham Palace. Shortt again

BROADLANDS.

took the Lord President's place, and Horace Farquhar, F. Ponsonby, and Mr. Doherty completed the attendance. The King saw the last-named after the Council.

*October* 13*th*.—I attended the Lord Chancellor's reception at the House of Lords. The ceremony this year, in order adequately to provide for the throng that his well-known reputation as a judge of champagne attracted, was held in the Royal Gallery, and the prudence of the choice was amply justified, besides giving the company the most splendid background afforded by the building. The luncheon was all that could be wished, and the consumption of champagne to all appearance considerable.

*October* 14*th*.—I had the pleasure of twenty minutes with Mr. Balfour, who seemed in the best of health and vigour. It is curious how little he seems to have realised the great personal success he had achieved at Geneva. I told him his addresses there had left a luminous track across Europe, and proceeded to recount the eulogies passed upon the influence he had exercised by Mr. Doherty, Malcolm Delevingne, and Fisher, at the last of which he remarked, " Well, praise from Fisher is praise indeed ! " He admitted, as I went so far as to suppose, that he was the last man to look at the newspapers for any estimate of his work, and assured me he was most grateful for what I said, and I really think he was. There is about him a surprising candour and openness towards this sort of tribute, and a simple human pleasure in it, which help to make him the attractive figure he is, with none of the pompous self-approval sometimes manifested.

*October* 20*th*.—Roddie, writing from Dalmeny, was able to give a very satisfactory account of Lord Rosebery: his mind seems to have completely recovered its vigour, and there is some slight improvement in physical activity. Roddie surprised him one morning over the perusal of my " Henry, Duke of Grafton," which he playfully explained might be due to the unconscious association of the author with Roddie. He proceeded, in reply to Roddie's enquiry how he liked it: " The period is not particularly interesting to me, but to a book *written* like that I always return again and again " ; concluding: " If you see him, tell him from me that the book has given me very great pleasure."

*October* 27*th*.—We had Sir C. and Lady Jacob to luncheon, asking to meet them Lady St. Audries, Cecil Manners, and John and Lady Hanbury-Williams. The Jacobs were very interesting in what they had to say of India, and the effect, both social and political, of the recent change in the Viceregal office. They were both very complimentary to the part played by my daughter in its *entourage*, and testified to the great value of her tact and judgment. Sir Claud gave me more than one striking instance of Lord Reading's courage and decision. He is extraordinarily quick in the grasp of the situation, whether the problem before

him is civil or military. By what was almost a *coup d'état* he defeated in the Legislative Council a project for reducing the British forces on what he deemed a dangerous scale by assuming the consent of the Council and declaring it lost.

*October* 31*st.*—A Council at Buckingham Palace, mainly for an Order under the Home Rule Act. The Lord President, Desart, Colebrooke, and Somerleyton were present. Before I left the presence the King referred to the possible demand for another Council, which I told him would be necessary to determine the prorogation, seeing that the Order of last August had been scrapped by the untoward action of those who thrust a Council upon him at Bolton. This brought about a very natural expression of concern, which was further emphasised by my adding that the cost of the special train was £217.

*November* 2*nd.*—I am told by a witness to the Debate last night that Lloyd George was at his best in the mastery of persuasive eloquence, and the majority by which he was supported is no mean testimony to the fact, although, according to the Duke of Northumberland, every man who voted against the resolution must be both dishonest and disloyal. A conspicuous feature in the discussion was the enormous exodus from the Chamber when Asquith rose to speak: he stood, unable to say a word for some minutes, until the din of departing footsteps had subsided. It should have conveyed to him, in impressive accents, the conviction of his responsibility for much that is most deplorable in our relations with Ireland during the last ten years.

Sandhurst's death is a personal and public loss. I have worked now with four successive Lords Chamberlain on a most friendly footing, and the nine years of Sandhurst's term have been marked by great intimacy and confidence. He was always most courteous and helpful, full of sound judgment and unfaltering integrity.

*November* 10*th.*—The object of Monday's Council before the King's departure having failed to include urgent Irish business, owing to the laxity of the Prime Minister's staff and the supineness of the Irish Office in not letting us know that a meeting of certain Cabinet Ministers on Saturday afternoon decided to press on the orders providing for the immediate functioning of the Ulster Parliament, it thus became necessary, after some protest, to arrange for a Council at Elveden yesterday. I saw Stamfordham on Tuesday and animadverted so strongly on the subject that he lost no time in rebuking the peccant Private Secretary. This gentleman, who, on paper at least, has no manners, replied in terms which for dissimulation, ignorance, and discourtesy it would be difficult to find a match, and had the impudence to send me a copy without ceremony. He got a letter back which he will not easily forget. It is the theme of universal complaint that nothing

is to be got out of these people but delay and evasion. The Parliamentary Counsel testifies to suffering the same neglect, yet but for him I do not think I should hear anything. It makes the Prime Minister's career all the more wonderful that his credit should survive such woefully bad service when his staff have only to take their master as a model for politeness. H. Greenwood and Peel, who had to be sworn Minister of Transport, went down to Suffolk in charge of my deputy, Colin Smith, and Horace Farquhar, who was on the spot, made the third. I was glad to learn that the King gave it Greenwood very straight for this slovenly way of doing business; but some of these people seem to think that no lack of forethought is censurable where the King in Council is concerned.

Haldane was with me yesterday afternoon to talk on various matters. He is about to give us his picture by Cope to complete the collection in the Council-chamber which I originated. Having little short of revolutionised the Chamber, his effigy has a right to be there, and the story he unfolded of the picture's genesis was curious. It appears that, when he entered upon his ill-starred mission to Berlin in 1912, Cassel, who took a lively interest in its success, went there at the same time and acted *sub rosâ* as a kind of liaison officer between Haldane and the German mercantile community, represented by Ballin of the Hamburg-American Line. Cassel occupied another hotel, and was never seen during the day with Haldane, who, like Nicodemus, visited him by night. The offers to the Germans were substantial, and some good was done, but to Tirpitz's demand that England should withdraw from the *Entente* a curt refusal was given. The air was cleared, however, by some reduction in Germany's naval programme, and Haldane was not without hope that a larger *Entente*, with Germany as a member, might ultimately be reached. This hope, as we all know, was blighted by the militarist reaction of the following years, which Bethmann-Hollweg was too weak to withstand; but, before this was known, Cassel had asked Haldane to let him commemorate their association by having his picture painted by an artist chosen by the sitter. The lot fell upon Cope, and the result was a very successful picture, which had hung in Brook House ever since. Being now the property of Mrs. Cassel, she offered it to Haldane, who accepted it with the qualification that it was to be placed, with a suitable inscription, in the Judicial Chamber.

Passing to my daughter's work in India, he spoke very warmly of Lord Reading, whom he described as having been born to fill his present post. Imbued, as he said, by personal predilection and lifelong training with a sense of the prerogatives of justice in the highest acceptation of the term, he was just the man to confront the difficulties and solve the problems of modern India.

The other object of his praise was the Prime Minister, whom he applauded to the skies for his dexterity in bringing the Irish Question to its present pitch and having induced Sinn Fein to accept the bases laid down for the present conference. He did not despair of his being ultimately successful with Ulster.

*November 11th.*—Newton was at luncheon, not long returned from two months in the south-east of Europe. He only left Buda-Pesth two days before the escapade of the Ex-Emperor, and attributes the attempt to the number of ex-officers who are out of a job and ready for any adventure that promises the chance of a livelihood.

Newton says the position of the people in Transylvania is deplorable. Roumanian oppression has left life and property without any security, and personal liberty is at the mercy of a secret police whose ramifications permeate society. He has represented all this to the Foreign Office, but, as it is inconvenient to them to believe it, they meet his representations with a bland denial.

*November 12th.*—Horne presided for the first time at the nomination of the Sheriffs, and Darling took the place of the Lord Chief Justice. They both displayed marked sympathy for the situation of impoverished landlords. An unusual incident was the proposal to nominate a woman in the person of Lady Joan Legge, but no proof was produced that she enjoyed the possession of any land, and Dartmouth, who is Lord-Lieutenant of the County, wrote saying she had not the necessary qualification !

Horne, who has been sitting in Conference with Michael Collins, " the Murderer," as he described him, says he has a typical Irish face, eyes sparkling with humour below the surface.

*November 17th.*—We had luncheon at the Lyceum Club, with the supporters of the Institut Français, to congratulate the Directress, Madame Bohn, on the receipt of the Légion d'Honneur at the hands of M. Poincaré. I found myself let in for a speech to express the sentiments of the English section of the company, which I had to deliver between two French orations, one from the lady presiding, to whose left I sat—Madame Rudler, wife of the Professor of French Literature in the University of Oxford, and the other from M. de Montille, Counsellor of the French Embassy, whose wife, a charming woman, sat on my left. Happily I have always at command a wealth of eulogy for the French race and literature, which stood me in good stead, and, by an easy transition, I passed in a complimentary vein to the immediate object of the occasion and described Madame Bohn as the sentinel of French culture on our bleak and fogbound isle.

*November 18th.*—Luncheon at Horace Farquhar's, where we met the Princess Royal and her daughter, the widow of the late Lord Cadogan, and Harry Stonor. The Princess was quite

lively, and really talked, besides evincing interest in what was said by others.

*November* 21*st*.—The Prime Minister's staff have had a salutary lesson, as late on Saturday night I was informed of the Duke of Atholl's appointment as Lord Chamberlain, and was thus enabled to utilise the interval by seeing him yesterday and arranging for his being sworn a Privy Councillor at the Council this afternoon, with Ronald Graham and Mr. Justice Isaacs of Australia. When I saw the Duke yesterday he gave me to understand he would be no slacker in any parliamentary work placed upon him, and I gathered that Lloyd George's sense of humour had not been absent in requesting him to represent Labour in the House of Lords ! He is no tyro in debate, having been for seven years in the other House : his appearances in the Lords had, he said, been infrequent, but on five occasions out of seven he had been instrumental in putting the Government in a minority. Shortt took the Lord President's place, Horace Farquhar, Newton, and F. Ponsonby making the quorum.

*November* 22*nd*.—I received a message over-night that Stamfordham wanted to see me at 11 a.m. He then told me of the Princess Mary's engagement to Lord Lascelles, and said that it was the King's wish to give his consent in Council in the evening; but the arrangements must be conducted without any risk of their reaching the evening Press, as His Majesty did not wish anything to be known till the following morning. He suggested certain persons, viz. the Prime Minister, the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Lord Chancellor, and the Lord Chamberlain, to whom we agreed that the Home Secretary should be added, and I undertook to send the summons as soon as the hour could be definitely fixed. I further promised to send the proposed Form of Consent as soon as I was in a position to consult such precedents as met the case. Stamfordham undertook to approach the first four named, and had to restrain the Prime Minister's desire to announce it to the Cabinet, which was sitting when he sought Lloyd George, and I arranged to warn Shortt he would be wanted. Everything came off with due celerity and circumspection, and the Council was held at 6.30. Before the business was entered upon the King, with strong feeling, expressed his gratitude to those present for having laid aside other calls to attend there for a brief moment in compliance with his wish upon an occasion of such deep importance to him, and assured them that it was a matter of the greatest satisfaction to himself and the Queen that he was about to give his consent to the marriage of their only daughter to an *Englishman*, and one, moreover, who had so distinguished a record as a soldier. The Prime Minister expressed the warm solicitude shared by all present in the most interesting and welcome announcement just made by His Majesty, and they desired to

assure the King and Queen of their most cordial congratulations on the event and to proclaim the great pleasure they felt in taking part in that Historic Council.

I had some talk with Lloyd George, who was very pleased to be there, and said that, in the fifteen years he had held Cabinet office, it was the first time he had been asked to take the Lord President's place at a Council.

It appeared to me that, throughout the proceedings, the King struck the right note with a very true instinct in seeking to divert attention, so far as possible, from the stiffness inherent in an Act of State, and succeeded in giving the impression of a father among a group of friends announcing an event touching very closely the fate of a beloved daughter in a manner that appealed to their sympathy and warmth of feeling.

*December 1st.*—Information reached me that Mr. Justice Salter's Committee have come to the conclusion that Sir E. Speyer's naturalisation must be revoked for disaffection and disloyalty, which revocation will be accompanied by expulsion from the Privy Council, a step I have long since pressed upon the attention of the authorities. The case does not seem clear for depriving him of his baronetcy, as a patent of that type is deemed to give permanence of tenure for the life of the holder and his male heirs, which happily do not exist.

I communicated to Stamfordham the action which His Majesty would be asked to take at the next Council, and explained the difference of practice which seemed to depend upon the Sovereign's sense of personal injury such as George III betrayed in dealing with the Duke of Devonshire for voting for the peace in 1763, and later with Charles J. Fox. In his reply Stamfordham said, very wisely, that the King would prefer "to avoid anything so personal, and, if I may say so, theatrical," and expressed the King's wish to see the report which I transmitted to the Home Secretary.

*December 6th.*—My confidence that a way out of the Irish difficulty would somehow be reached is realised; after a day occupied by the most protracted conferences, a solution was found in the early hours of this morning, and its substance embodied in a solemn pact to which the negotiators put their hands. Immense care had, I understand, to be taken by those responsible for drafting the document not to offend the susceptibilities of the Irish delegates, whose position was a critical one, in seeking terms which they would be able to enforce against the opposition of the extremists; and they asked that their hands should be strengthened by any indulgence it was in the power of the Government to grant in the language used to express the settlement. The result was transmitted to the North of Ireland Cabinet by special train to Holyhead, and thence by a destroyer to Belfast.

I heard, just before luncheon, that a Council would be required

to-morrow for the summoning of Parliament on Wednesday the 14th, and Stamfordham intimated the King's intention to come to London. Later I received instructions from the Prime Minister that all the members of the Cabinet and the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland were to be summoned—a unique way of emphasising the importance of the occasion.

*December 7th.*—All the Ministers summoned turned up except the Secretary of State for India, seventeen in all. I had some difficulty in marshalling them, as they were apt to confuse the conventional rank accorded to the holders of certain offices with their position on the Roll of the Privy Council, where those not entitled under the rules of General Precedence to any place higher than that of a Privy Councillor are graded solely by the date of their being sworn. The Prime Minister, taking the Lord President's place, was on the King's right, the Lord Chancellor and the Privy Seal next in order.

At the close of the proceedings the King congratulated the Cabinet on having solved a problem that had baffled English statesmanship for 700 years, and, while selecting the Prime Minister for special praise, he thanked all his colleagues for their loyal support.

Lloyd George tendered His Majesty their grateful thanks for his remarks, and repeated what he had told the Cabinet yesterday, that they owed their success in large measure to the initiation taken by the King in his speech at the opening of the Ulster Parliament—the only body, he might have added, which had given no help.

As we were leaving the room the King raised a general laugh by telling the Prime Minister that, in a conversation he had with Lord Morley many years ago, Lord Morley had said, " Well, Sir, you will see the day will come when the Conservatives will grant Home Rule."

As I felt sure Lord Morley would be pleased to hear that his sagacity in hazarding such a prophecy had not been forgotten, I wrote informing him of what passed, to which he replied:

" Dear Sir Almeric,

" I am so glad to hear from you, and I enjoy immensely the pleasant incident you recall. I hope you are well and flourishing in mind, body, and estate.

" Yours always sincerely,

" Morley of B."

The use of a phrase from the Anglican Liturgy is characteristic of his wide sympathies in the apt expression of thought.

*December 9th.*—A most agreeable dinner last night at the Hanbury-Williams's. The Sligos, Edmondstones, the American Am-

bassador and Mrs. Harvey, Mr. Masaryk, a son of the President of the Czecho-Slovakia Republic and a daughter of the house, an attractive girl with a good deal of her father's distinction. Mr. Harvey is plain enough to command attention in any company, but shrewd and agreeable ; his wife quiet and sensible, with the decorous manners of New England, whence I understand she claimed to come. The Ambassador was very strong on the effects of the Irish pact in the removal of a standing difficulty in the way of cordial relations between England and the United States. He opines that Ireland will in the near future become the favourite haunt of American tourists, and contemplates a large investment of American capital in providing hotels for their accommodation !

*December* 13*th*.—A Council for general purposes, including the subsequent submission of the King's Speech, for which I had secured the attendance of two Cabinet Ministers, Shortt and Horne—a fortunate thing, as it turned out, for Stamfordham and I were both struck with a grave inelegance of diction in the last phrase, if it did not amount to a grammatical atrocity, which we obtained the consent of the two Ministers to have altered, if the King desired it. Happily, we had an hereditary master of English present, in the person of Lytton, whose opinion was conclusive that it called for alteration, which was accordingly made.

The Order for expunging Speyer's name from the Privy Council was hailed with satisfaction by everyone present. It must be left to Asquith to consider how, in the light of recent disclosures, the clue to which ought then to have been in his hands, he came to certify in May 1915 that he knew Speyer " long and well enough to estimate at their true value " what he was pleased to term " baseless and malignant imputations."

We dined in the evening at the Hotel Victoria, with the Royal Colonial Institute (Sir G. Lagden in the chair), to hear later an address from Sir Charles Lucas on the Balance of Power within the Empire, which he illustrated most ingeniously by the accumulation of proof that, with every grant of self-governing powers to sections of the Empire, we not only widened its bases but confirmed its equilibrium. An interesting discussion followed by representatives of the Dominions upon the value of this theory of expanding vitality. The High Commissioner of New Zealand, Sir James Allen, presided at the lecture.

*December* 16*th*.—I went to the House of Lords the first day of the debate out of respect for what was probably Lord Morley's last appearance on the parliamentary stage. It was a great occasion, and he had a great audience, but the effect on the mind was more pain than pleasure, as the speaker's physical effort to command his voice seemed to react adversely upon his power to express what he had to say, and to impoverish the stateliness of his diction. I was touched by the introduction into the fabric

of his speech of the pleasing anecdote I imparted to him the other day.

Later in the afternoon Curzon's air of magisterial authority, which, in anticipation of what he might have to say, was directed against Carson, produced a stiffening of facial lines which denoted what was coming, for, on rising, he lashed himself into a frenzy of wrath. Of course he spoilt his own case by the violence which suggested the mortification of a great advocate in arguing a cause which he felt would be given against him, but never was the flexibility of his muscles employed with such deadly effect to disconcert and pulverise an adversary. As a piece of passion it was superb, as a contribution to the hopes of Ireland disastrous, and Londonderry, who opened on the second day from the same point of view, was by contrast sane and conciliatory.

It was reserved for the Lord Chancellor, in concluding the debate, to carry off the supreme honours: he left no point unanswered, no objection undemolished, no opponent unscathed. His method of dealing with the Duke of Northumberland, who carries his brain power in a clutch of fearsomeness and gall, left him without authority or weight to cover his position.

The noble Duke tried to score in offering some reply, but he did not improve upon his previous effort. The Lord Chancellor, having said he did not see how Ulster could refuse eventually to come into a Parliament for United Ireland—meaning, of course, that self-interest and patriotism would in the long run point that way—His Grace had the hardihood to exclaim that it was obvious Ulster was going to be forced into the combination, whether she liked it or not!

*December* 21*st*.—Rathenau was with me for three-quarters of an hour, when he expounded his views with great moderation and fairness, and, so far as I could judge, profound insight of the remedies to be applied to the European body politic. He was very favourably impressed with the English statesmen he had seen, and, pulling himself together with the air of one about to pronounce a judgment, exclaimed: "What you have here are men of character." He discovered a curious parallel between the physical and mental gifts of Lloyd George and Bülow, one-time Chancellor of the German Empire, but considered the Prime Minister much the greater man, as he had the power, denied to the other, of projecting his force outward: he had the supreme talent of dealing with men, which at this moment in the world's history gave him an influence not exerciseable by one who lived mainly in the realm of ideas. Horne he thought highly of, and among the people at the Treasury he had been much struck by Blackett's force and directness of character. Outside the ranks of the Administration, he was impressed by Haldane and Robert Cecil, and attributed to the latter great insight into the conditions

of Europe. He had a bad opinion of the Press in most countries, and thought there was little to choose between the Northcliffe papers and the factious and corrupt journals which in France override the best elements in French society and make her political action a source of danger to those who are seeking to build up the shattered fabric of international relations. The present organisation of the German Government, upon which the future largely turned, depended for its moral force upon the good understanding of the Allies, and anything that weakened it was playing into the hands of reactionary and militarist Germany. We parted good friends, and he expressed himself very grateful for my politeness and sympathetic hearing.

*December* 22*nd*.—A Council to-day for the issue of a further batch of Irish orders. Shortt, Horace Farquhar, Southborough, and F. Ponsonby present. Southborough confirmed my recollection that the promise of the Irish Convention a few years ago was wrecked by the obduracy of the Ulster delegates, which makes their present disposition to charge the Government with a design to betray them indefensible. Do they claim for all time to exercise a right of veto, in spite of the aspect of a changed world and the pressure of events, which are largely the issue of their own blindness and prejudice ?

*December* 30*th*.—Troubridge had luncheon with me at the Travellers'. After a brief holiday in Norfolk, he returns to the control of the Danube, where he has settled some outstanding points with the Foreign Office. He believes that the arrangements of the Treaty, if they do not suffer any violent disturbance, will, in twenty-five years, be generally accepted ; but the Governments of the new States are using the weapons of repression on pretty much the same scale as in past days was the theme of complaint with the Austrian Administration. Czecho-Slovakia has developed business aptitudes which promise future security, but she again behaves with intolerance to the large German minority incorporated in the State. Upon the Danube the activity of over-zealous minor officials is constantly giving rise to trouble, but so far the States responsible are always ready to apologise for their undue diligence.

## 1922

*January* 31*st*.—The King returned to London just in time to hold a Council providing for the further prorogation of Parliament to this day week, for the Council took place at one o'clock and Parliament stood convoked to the despatch of business at three ! A batch of important Irish Orders were also disposed of. Shortt acted for the Lord President, Horace Farquhar, Somerleyton, and F. Ponsonby assisting.

The storm in the Nurses' Council, due to the intractability of Mrs. Bedford Fenwick—among women the most fatal to the uses of moderation in counsel—which at one time threatened the dissolution of the body, has now been composed by the acceptance of Priestley's resignation as chairman: Mrs. Eustace Hills, who was the nominee of the Board of Education, now represents the Privy Council; Sir W. Herringham takes her place by the appointment of the Board, and he becomes chairman on the nomination of the Minister of Health. He has the reputation of being able to make himself unpleasant if the necessity arises, and it is believed that he will be able to put a bridle into the mouth of Mrs. Bedford Fenwick, without being too sorely bitten.

It is years since I was in touch with her, but I have never lost the impression she gave of one with whom co-operation is vain unless upon terms of absolute submission.

*February 6th.*—Council at Buckingham Palace to wipe off the matters that had not been put forward last week, and to provide the usual opportunity for the formal settlement of the King's Speech, for which two Cabinet Ministers, viz. Shortt and Munro, put in an appearance, the Duke of Atholl, Somerleyton, and F. Ponsonby making the rest. I must acknowledge Shortt's kindness in having taken the Lord President's place with such assiduity for the last three months.

*February 13th.*—I saw Selby[1] this afternoon, who is acting as Lord Allenby's principal secretary, and returned from Egypt a week before him. He regards the situation as terribly serious, the present being the last opportunity to recover lost ground, and if it is not seized he sees no alternative but annexation and the forcible suppression of nationalist aspirations. I never saw a man of naturally cheerful aspect wearing an air of such dejection, and, if that is an index of public danger, it must be imminent indeed. He gave Allenby a wonderful character for extraordinary courage, inflexible honesty and a supreme intuition of statesmanship, and the fact that he left Egypt with the opinion of Egyptians, English, and the whole European community unanimous on that score, goes far to justify the estimate.

Sarwat Pasha is ready to take office on the basis of ultimate Egyptian independence, but with the maintenance of the British garrison in Cairo until the settlement of all outstanding points of negotiation between the parties.

*February 18th.*—Since his return Mr. Balfour has been much disturbed by the insistence with which the King has urged his acceptance of the Garter, which is distasteful to him, partly for what he admits to be an almost "childish" dislike of honours, and secondly because of the change of style which knighthood will involve, altering the description he has borne for fifty years

[1] Of the Foreign Office.

of public life. However, I am afraid there is no means of his getting over the obligation, as it is not easy to press such objections upon the Fount of Honour. He is altogether in a position of some embarrassment, arising out of the greatly enhanced credit he has brought from Washington, and not the least troublesome aspect of it is the disposition of a considerable section of the Conservative Party to induce him to resume the leadership—a step which under no circumstances is he willing to take: indeed, he might even be driven to the asylum of the House of Lords, in order to escape. The curious part of it is that a good many of those who, years ago, adopted the formula B.M.G. (Balfour must go) are the most urgent in pressing this step upon him. The wheel has indeed come full circle in bringing these men to a repudiation of their past excesses, and the whole story is significant comment upon the instability of political purpose and the vanity of party malice.

*February 25th.*—I sent Princess Mary a ring, which I ventured to tell her had an hereditary title to her interest by its association with the tragic story of Queen Mary of Scots, as would be gathered by this note sent with it:

"This ring was the property of Mrs. Murray Gartshore, who died in 1915 at the age of 102; she had it from her mother, whose father, the 3rd Duke of Grafton, was born in 1735, fifty years after the death of Charles II, by whom it had been preserved as one of those which his great-grandmother, Mary Queen of Scots, gave to her Maids of Honour—the Queen's Maries—and is said to be that returned to the Queen by one of them, possibly Mary Hamilton, before her execution.

"Expert opinion pronounces the ring to belong to the period to which tradition assigns it."

I had a most gracefully expressed letter in reply.

*February 28th.*—The wedding-day dawned with an unclouded sky after some stormy passages during the night. Everyone was early astir, and all the approaches to Westminster were thronged with an animated and exultant crowd. We left home at 10.10 and did not reach the Abbey till fully 10.45, an immense aggregation of motors proceeding viâ Victoria Street to the north-west and west cloister doors. The scene in the nave was striking, the sun streaming in upon the crowd ranged on staging on either side: there were enough uniforms to give it some brightness, to which the women did not contribute as much as they might, a very large proportion taking no trouble to hide the dinginess of ordinary attire.

The procession, once started, moved up the central pathway with stately pomp; the Queen and the bride bore themselves particularly well. Princess Mary was the centre of attraction, and fully justified her claim to that position. Lady Mary Thynne

was conspicuous among the bridesmaids for her peerless beauty. The music had hardly volume enough to produce the designed effect, and, as far as the nave was concerned, fell short of the impressiveness we had been told to look for. The service was over in the allotted time, and the procession to the west door, with the necessary changes in the order of going, was quickly over. The presence of Lady Harewood added to it a figure of most commanding distinction and attractiveness, her beauty enhanced by a robe of striking fitness to her place in the pageant.

The departure of the bride and bridegroom from Buckingham Palace was the opportunity for a remarkable episode. Headed by the King and the Queen, with her long dress tucked over her arm, the whole party who had been waiting to see them off pursued the carriage across the quadrangle, discharging rice, confetti, and other suitable missiles, until the chase ended with the passage of its object into the outer court.

On the way to the Abbey opposite Drummond's Bank the pressure of the crowd drove in the troops lining the route, and for the moment the coach was surrounded by enthusiastic well-wishers; order was quickly restored, but the King afterwards remarked that at one moment he had lost his escort.

*March 3rd.*—His Majesty, having failed so far to corner Mr. Balfour for his investiture with the Garter, took advantage of the Council to-day to confer the insignia upon him. The recipient is, at any rate, content to believe that it has made the King happy, however inconvenient he may deem the change from his own point of view. I took the opportunity of telling him that, while no Garter could add to his distinction, I was at least able to congratulate the Order. The greatest compliment the King has paid him lies in the fact that, on hearing he was going to dine with Horace Farquhar, His Majesty intimated that he would like to be asked to meet him.

Sastri attended the Council, in order to make the formal affirmation of allegiance, etc., as it appears he has travelled so far from his priestly status as a Brahmin that there are no sacred books within the range of his religious horizon upon which he could be sworn. At his request I asked Southborough to attend, on whose Commission he served.

*March 6th.*—I met Henry Wilson, F.-M., this morning, and asked him how he liked the House of Commons, upon which he smiled grimly and said, "I go and look at them sometimes," as if they were a collection of curious animals.

*March 11th.*—Montagu's action[1] has precipitated a crisis which might easily have been avoided, and, while acquitting him

[1] Mr. Montagu published the telegram of the Government of India containing their views on the Turkish Peace in the belief that the step was approved by his colleagues.

of evil intentions, its effects, and the manner of it, gave colour to the belief that he was careless of any embarrassment the disclosure of the telegram might cause the Government. To anyone familiar with the mass of documents, of no particular interest, the circulation of which is prescribed by custom or precaution, it is almost inconceivable that any Minister impressed with the importance of the communication should have circulated it without taking the trouble to stress its significance by an explanatory memorandum claiming the special attention of his colleagues. It is, it seems, the case that Curzon, the one principally interested, was aware of what was threatened, and yet, if Montagu is correct, he did not take the opportunity of Monday's Cabinet to have the step arrested, contenting himself with a request that the offence should not be repeated.

The point of immediate interest is the position of the Viceroy, who, although not chargeable with any breach of order, may consider himself compromised by the compulsory resignation of the Secretary of State. Fisher, whom I sat next at the Lord President's dinner last night, while very sympathetic to Lord Reading, saw his difficulty and evidently feared some untoward result. He said one thing in justification of his retaining his post which struck me by its aptness, viz. that, as the intelligentsia of India was mainly legal, there was something peculiarly appropriate in the presence of a great lawyer to watch over and foster the germ of legislative institutions in India. In justice to Montagu Fisher described his attitude from the first as one of intense dislike to the policy embodied in the Treaty of Sèvres and the subsequent patronage of Greek truculence, upon the grounds of their fatal effect on Moslem opinion throughout the British Empire, and showed that the present issue was the outcome of the point of view he had never faltered in maintaining. He recognised, however, the force of my suggestion that Montagu would have done better to have resigned long ago and justified his action by independent parliamentary criticism.

I enjoyed Fisher's conversation immensely, with its fine literary flavour and reminiscences of great names such as Acton and Morley. In connection with the gift to the University of Cambridge of Lord Acton's library (90,000 volumes) he made the interesting observation that, in the result of his own examination, a very large proportion of them bore signs of the possessor's perusal; another curious fact lay in the collection including 200 volumes on astrology. Lord Morley's rules for a happy life are worth recording: (1) Not to ask of life more than it can give; (2) to make its interests three-quarters active against one quarter contemplative!

An unfortunate incident in the Montagu downfall lay in the fact that Mrs. Montagu was in the Speaker's Gallery seated by

Mrs. Chamberlain when the question, of which private notice had been given, was put by Aubrey Herbert to Austen. Neither of the ladies knew what was impending and the shock to Mrs. Montagu by the reception given to the announcement was very severe. How Montagu came to have allowed his wife to be there without warning her of the inevitable declaration, is another of the unaccountable features of the affair.

*March 14th.*—Curzon carried the House of Lords with him, owing no doubt a measure of his success to his assailant's mistakes. It was difficult to avoid reading the incriminated letter if he was to do justice to himself, and its text certainly showed that he had been neither arrogant nor peevish. I cannot, however, share the opinion that his case was complete, as, in stressing Montagu's liability in the matter, he weakened the obligation of Cabinet responsibility he was there to uphold. He did not, moreover, explain why, on the chance of its not proving too late, he did not obtain his colleagues' authority to send a telegram cancelling the permission to make known the "manifesto" of the Government of India. The facts seem to show that the step might still have been arrested.

*March 15th.*—The Council for pricking the Sheriffs was held to-day, and the occasion was seized to swear Mr. Murray, the new Lord Advocate: a pleasant fellow, quick in thought and movement.

The King's interest in the use of the "bodkin," as a relic of the days before his ancestors could write, never fails, and on his conjecture that neither could they read, I said: "True, Sir, and that is why we still put a heavy mark against the name to be pricked."

On parting in the Hall with the Lord President, I regretted we should be without him for six weeks, to which he kindly replied that he left things quite safe in my direction; whereupon I remarked, "My concern is how the Government will get on without your direction," an observation he greeted with a grateful laugh. I believe he will return to this country as Earl Balfour.

*March 21st.*—I dined last night with Crawford and had a very pleasant evening, as might be expected with so admirable a host, and in a house so full of the expression of the finest taste. The party consisted of some sixteen, including our host's Foreign Office brother, Peel, Desart, Buckmaster, Cowdray, Faringdon, Rennell Rodd, Charles Darling, Maurice de Bunsen, Malcolm Ramsay, Troup, Sir A. Garrett Anderson, Goscombe John and Sir J. Lavery: the last-named looked cut out for the position of pictorial historiographer to the Irish Free State; in appearance he might have belonged to some pre-Celtic race, Iberian or even Neolithic.

Crawford's new Gallery, built to house the pick of Lady

Wantage's collection, is admirably designed for the purpose and contains some twenty pictures of the rarest excellence. In the dining-room is one of the oldest examples of Italian art, and of immense interest in the laborious treatment of the subject on a very full canvas. A little gem of Dutch art, painted towards the end of the seventeenth century by a Dutchman who had studied in Italy, the theme being St. John the Baptist preaching, while essentially Dutch in certain aspects, bore in the figures a most curious anticipation of both Watteau and Tiepolo.

At the Council to-day Peel was sworn Secretary of State: Shortt, the Duke of Atholl, and F. Ponsonby being also present. Peel produced and handed to the King a box which purported to hold the seals of the Duchy, but afterwards proved to contain his patent as Chancellor!

*April 1st.*—After two postponements due to the slackness of Parliament in disposing of the last stages of the Irish Bill, which only received the Royal Assent yesterday, a Council was held for the approval of Orders applying its provisions. It was fixed for 10.45 at Windsor: so Shortt took Willie Bridgeman and me down in a police motor which did the distance very comfortably in an hour. The King chaffed Bridgeman on his last appearance at a Council, when His Majesty's rest was broken in the small hours of the night last August, "and," he continued, "I am told by our friend there," pointing at me, "that the Council was quite unnecessary"; on which I interposed, "Indeed, Your Majesty, it was."

By her kind invitation I had the good fortune to see Lady Fortescue, who had parted from my daughter little more than five weeks ago at the close of the Great Ball at Delhi. According to her testimony, she was doing splendidly and was loved by everyone in India. No more enviable tribute could have been paid, and the effect was enhanced by the evident warmth and sincerity of the witness.

On our return Shortt spoke very frankly on the political situation, and the spirit with which the Prime Minister met the misrepresentations to which he was exposed. As an instance of the mode pursued, he cited a passage which appeared a few days ago, where the writer set out to prove that the Prime Minister's policy of entering into trade relations with the *de facto* Russian Government was likely to lead to Winston's resignation, and to that end what read like a discussion between the two was introduced and the gravest conflict of opinion disclosed. I said I had read the passage, and did not believe a word of it. "Well, then," he replied, "you will not be surprised to hear that it was a fabrication from beginning to end." Acting upon the best information obtainable, which was not of Bolshevik origin, though the man who supplied it—a person of the highest repute

in the Russian commercial world—has been taken into the counsels of the Bolsheviks because they cannot do without him, Ministers have confidential assurances that, if Lenin can maintain his hold on life and the control of the State, he will honour his engagements and practically recant his foolish denunciation of any dealing with " capitalist " countries. The Cabinet, Shortt went on, are unanimous in the conviction that the experiment ought to be tried, and the difference between the Prime Minister and Winston was limited to some doubt on the part of the latter whether the chances of success were as great as Lloyd George believed.

*April 3rd.*—The Memorial Service for Lady Howe was conducted in a snowstorm at the Church in Down Street, which was wrapt in funereal gloom. In spite of having outlived all her contemporaries, the attendance was large, and no doubt her disappearance appealed to many as marking the end of a social epoch which was not without its distinction. Her judgments upon contemporaries were shrewd and not unkindly, and there was much in her experience which the social historian might find significant. With her passes away the only person of my acquaintance who knew India before the Mutiny.

*April 4th.*—I have sent to Windsor for transmission to George Buckle, who is engaged in preparing the correspondence of Queen Victoria (1862–1882) for the Press, her letters to the late Duke of Grafton, which his son and successor kindly placed at my disposal for the purpose. During the period named Her Majesty wrote to him repeatedly on matters of difficulty touching the Household.

*April 6th.*—In a case argued before Darling the other day by Patrick Hastings, Counsel mentioned the name of George Robey, whereupon the Judge leant forward, and, with a manner reminiscent of L.C.J. Coleridge, enquired who he was. " Please, my lord," was the reply, " he is the darling of the Halls ! "

*April 21st.*—Another excursion to Windsor for a Council, which was demanded for giving the Royal Assent to a Reserved Bill of the Union of South Africa dealing with finance, delay in which was costing the Union large sums of money. In Shortt's absence I appealed to Crawford, whom, with Southborough, I took down in a police motor, courteously placed at our disposal. Crawford was sworn Minister of Transport, and Lord Ronaldshay took the oath on being appointed a Member of the Privy Council. The Council was held at the early hour of 10.30, the King being engaged upon a farewell inspection of the Irish Guards, who are about to embark for Constantinople. Again we did the journey either way within the hour.

I learnt that arrears of Income-tax and Super-tax amounted to no less a sum than £170,000,000 !

*May 5th.*—Council before the King's departure for Belgium. Shortt took the Lord President's place: Horace Farquhar, who

seemed pleased at the opportunity to resume official duties after his wife's death, Colebrooke, and F. Ponsonby were also present, and Sir W. Sutherland came in order after the Council to take the oath and receive the Seals of the Duchy of Lancaster. The King evinced some surprise that he was not sworn of the Privy Council, and sent for me before the Council to enlighten him on the subject. I had to admit that for at least sixty years the holder of the office had been a member of the Privy Council, but we had had no instructions that Sutherland was to be admitted. I pointed out that he had only been three years in Parliament, and the Prime Minister was understood to think that his introduction might be postponed for a time, and I further explained that, as he was not to enter the Cabinet, there was nothing in his position which required the protection of the oath : a point which appeared to remove the last scruple from His Majesty's mind. Sutherland presented a very subdued appearance.

*May* 10*th*.—In a letter from India this week my daughter gives an interesting account of a conversation with the police officer who was attached to the Prince of Wales during his tour. " Mr. Stead," whom she describes as a young man of great intelligence and with a very thorough knowledge of India, " states that the Prince, just before he sailed, drew him aside and asked him, as an honest man, to say what he thought of his tour. ' If any man,' he said, ' should know—not in the official but in the practical sense—it is a man in your position, who has been through it step by step.' He told the Prince frankly that he had in the first place believed it to be the greatest possible mistake to bring him out at all, but the tour itself had convinced him he was wholly wrong in his view, that it had gone infinitely better than he had thought possible, and that the good it had done was incalculable. He described the condition of the country as altogether different during the last weeks, and laughed to scorn the suggestion that the day of the Englishman in India was over.

" It must be remembered that this is the opinion of one with no official axe to grind and with a bed-rock knowledge of the people, and particularly of the Punjab, the most restless province in the country. Moreover, one who was prejudiced against the visit, and had more than any other man the opportunity of close observation during its progress.

" I don't believe anyone can prophesy with certainty here—the problems are too manifold, the country too incalculable. But Mr. Stead's is a view to set with confidence against those who are raising the cry of panic."

*May* 19*th*.—I was in the House of Lords for some time each day during the argument on Lady Rhondda's motion for the issue of a Writ of Summons. Some twelve judicial and eighteen

lay Peers were present. It was heard in a very different atmosphere since the last occasion, when one lay Peer, Hylton, was the only dissident in a Committee of seven. The Crown, now represented by the new Attorney-General, took a strong line against the application of the Women's Disqualification Removal Act, 1919, to a disability of this character, undermining the strength of the plea by the description of the original distinction, not as a disqualification but as a measure of relief. During Talbot's speech for Lady Rhondda, Haldane and the Lord Chancellor kept up a running fire of comment from opposite sides, which was rather disconcerting to Counsel.

Dunedin was conspicuous for the brevity and appositeness of everything he said. Ultimately the Committee decided against the plaintiff by 20 to 4.

*May 22nd.*—We dined at the Hotel Victoria at a banquet promoted by the Institut Français in furtherance of the Anglo-French understanding, with Derby in the chair and the French Ambassador as the principal guest. Our associates at the High Table included Lady Derby and the Countess de St. Aulaire, Bonar Law and his daughter, Lady Sykes, Count and Countess de Montille, the Askwiths, Sumners, Rudyard Kipling, and the Vice-Chancellor of London University. I was placed next Lady Sykes, who gave me ample entertainment. Her father's speech was a very serious effort towards the removal of suspicion between England and France, without underrating the obstacles to success. These he dealt with faithfully but with great skill in avoiding provocative matter, though Lord Sumner, no mean judge in such matters, who was sitting next my wife, thought he had gone perilously near it. M. de St. Aulaire gave us a fine example of French eloquence, no sentence of which was deficient in the *mot juste*, which he pressed home with grace and dignity. The English Press, true to its evil traditions, reproduced it next morning in the journalese vernacular, shorn of all its distinction and a good part of its weight.

Lady Derby told me she had been at Newmarket the day before, and never in her experience had they been in a state of such uncertainty upon the result of the great race next week.

The tragedy of events in Ireland is rarely unaccompanied with a strain of broad comedy, and the seizure of the Four Courts offers an example of this prevailing trait. Unknown to the perpetrators of the outrage, they had impounded the Great Seal of Ireland, which was at the moment in urgent request for the issue of the writs convoking the South of Ireland Parliament. The Irish Executive, or what remains of it in Dublin, then proceeded to send an emissary craving its delivery, thus enlightening the rebels on the value of their capture and of course receiving

a blunt refusal. Appeal was then made to the Mint, where happily there was in store a duplicate, which with a little manipulation could be made to do duty for the other.

A Council to authorise its preparation and signify the Royal Approval was thus rendered necessary, and the King's return from Aldershot this morning offered the opportunity. Hamar Greenwood, who should have been there to apologise for the imbecility of his agents, was detained in the House of Commons, so that Lord Balfour had to explain to the King the fantastic operations leading up to the difficulty, and His Majesty was justly satirical on what might happen to the substitute before it reached the ghost of Government at the Viceregal Lodge. Chelmsford, who had an audience after the Council, Colebrooke, and F. Ponsonby completed the attendance.

*June 2nd.*—I saw Maurice Hankey this morning, who takes a gloomy view of the Irish negotiations now in progress. Nothing could be more hopeless than the impotence which prevails among the Irish sponsors of the Treaty: they seem bankrupt in spirit and intention, and cling to their arrangement with de Valera as the one plank separating them from submergence. Hankey likens them to men striving to ride two horses upon divergent paths, with the inevitable result of a heavy fall; he sees, however, one ray of hope, though he admits it is a speculative one, in the belief that they must come back to the Treaty, pure and simple, as the ultimate hope of salvation.

*June 3rd.*—The "Trooping of the Colour" took place to-day in brilliant weather and under improved conditions, owing to the changes in the aspect of the ground and the fine approach now accessible from the Mall. At the conclusion the Cavalry, the King, and the Headquarters Staff, and then the Infantry, marched off in succession, giving the pageant a ceremonial ending it has hitherto lacked. I had an improvised stand in the Privy Council Garden, to which Julia Lady Tweeddale, the Desarts, Sir Fred. and Lady Sykes, and Gervase Beckett's two daughters, the elder a very pretty girl, came. We had some spare room, which enabled us to rescue from the crowd two French officers and their ladies and the Bradfords' two children. Lady Diana, the elder, though not more than fifteen, has already made a name for literary production!

On my way home I walked across St. James's Park with Shortt, who told me that yesterday's Cabinet, which met in the belief that we were on the verge of war in Ireland, led to a sensible slackening of the tension, as six questions, arising out of the draft Constitution, which were put to the Sinn Fein authority asking for specific replies, were answered in the evening upon quite satisfactory lines, except with some ambiguity on two points, not, however, of sufficient importance to prevent the adjournment of

the Conference till Tuesday, when there is a strong hope of its resumption with a fair prospect of agreement.

Upon the crucial question of de Valera's relations with the negotiators, there are two diametrically opposite views: the leading Sinn Feiners, including Burgess, whom Shortt has met, declare their belief that he will in the last resort adhere to the Treaty, as his loss of influence in Ireland is so great that he can only save his vanity, which is extreme, by becoming a party to it. On the other hand, spies who watch Collins's movements say he is in the habit, at meetings in public-houses, of assuring his friends that he is working far more effectively than anyone else for a republic; but this, Shortt admits, may not be true or merely Collins's way of masking his intentions. At any rate, Shortt thinks the belief in an ultimate pact is most in accord with the general features of the situation, so far as the Government have a clear idea of it. He did not, however, disguise from me that the issue might still be war, and, if so, of a most savage type, promoted, as it would be, in this country by a campaign of assassination!

*June 17th.*—At a recent Cabinet the Prime Minister, assuming a serious air, said there was one question agitating the public mind to the exclusion of any other; and, in response to their speculations upon what it might be, proceeded to declare that it was concerned with the fate of Ronald True.[1] The Lord President thereupon said musingly, "Ronald True! I have never heard of him." And, on being reminded that the newspapers for some days had given his case exclusive prominence, said he must, perhaps for the first time, acquaint his colleagues with the fact that he never read the papers, but left it to the Private Secretary to keep him informed of what he thought necessary. Austen Chamberlain asked those present to take note of the declaration, and moved that it be entered on the minutes of their proceedings that the Lord President of the Council never read the papers, which was agreed to unanimously!

*June 20th.*—The Council was concerned with a vast mass of routine business, out of which emerged the first reform of the island of Sark since it received its present constitution from Charles II. The Lord President, the Secretary for Scotland, Horace Farquhar, and F. Ponsonby were present. At the close the King detained me to unfold his movements up to the eve of August 12th, which was the last day he could offer for a Council. As it appears certain that Parliament will adjourn to the autumn, the difficulty which occurred last year is not likely to be repeated, but His Majesty was very emphatic in impressing upon me that the Prime Minister's staff must not be allowed to play any tricks.

[1] True was sentenced to death for the murder of a young woman and respited on the plea of insanity.

I took occasion to tell him that the notice he had taken of the proceedings which led to the Council at Elveden had produced a most salutary change in the dispositions of 10 Downing Street.

*June 24th.*—It is a singular coincidence that in less than forty-eight hours the hand of the assassin has struck down two men of European fame, with each of whom I have been brought in contact under conditions of some intimacy. My relations with Henry Wilson go back ten years, when, in 1912, I joined the Committee for co-ordinating the action of Civil Departments on the outbreak of war, of which he was the most conspicuous member. It was impossible to be in his presence without being struck by his clearness of vision, the purity of his motives, and the impressive weight of his judgment. In him a great man, with the simplicity and directness which are often the truest index of greatness, has passed away amid the passionate demonstrations of a mourning people.

With the other, Rathenau, I had only one conversation last December, but the circumstances of our meeting gave it a confidential and significant character: in the five-and-forty minutes of its duration we touched upon matters he handled with both freedom from reserve and generosity of mind, displaying qualities of statesmanship and properties of thought the loss of which will prove a grave embarrassment to his ministerial colleagues at this critical juncture in German history.

*June 26th.*—The burial of Henry Wilson beneath the dome of St. Paul's was a fitting posthumous honour paid to a great career. No grander tribute could consecrate the memory of the most distinguished soldier, to whose genius the war bore witness, and I have seldom taken part in a service within that sublime temple of silence and reconciliation which garnered so rich an homage of grief and admiration from all that was eminent in the land. Time seemed to recede and life to manifest itself *sub specie æterni.*

> " Suns haste to set, that so remoter lights
> Beckon the wanderer to his vaster home ! "

*June 30th.*—I saw Shortt this morning and congratulated him upon having given the knock so effectually to his recent assailants. To show the honesty of modern journalism, he told me it had come to his knowledge from a reliable source that in the office of a well-known paper, when the True case was in evidence, two denunciatory articles were ready for publication, in accordance with whichever course he might decide to take. He attributes the malevolence and the persistence of the attacks to " Diehard " anxiety to purge the Cabinet of the Liberal element.

*July 14th.*—At the Council this morning the Lord President,

Shortt, Somerleyton, Horace Rumbold, and F. Ponsonby were present.

Lord Balfour was in an amusing dilemma, as, at a Council meeting of the British Embassy, he had been asked to use his influence with the Lord President of the Council in support of an application for the grant of a Charter to the British School at Florence. I assured him that, in spite of the dualism of his position, he was not asked to do anything equivocal.

*August 5th–8th.*—At Wrotham [1] for Bank Holiday. A lovely place in close proximity to High Barnet, which is quite suburban, yet overlooking a vast expanse of hill and dale, with barely a building visible among the woods which clothe the prospect.

Besides the family we met Rosy Wemyss (Lord Wester Wemyss), Marchesa Nicolini, the Ralph Yorkes, Westmacotts, Eric Maude, etc. Wemyss was just back from Marienbad, which was given over to the Jews, in connection with whom a Pole in his hotel produced a companion volume to the "Almanach de Gotha," published at Leipsic, giving a genealogical survey of all "ennobled" Jewish families, among which he discovered the Harmsworths, who are all descended in the fourth degree from one Stern, a Hamburg Jew, who settled in the North of Ireland: a very interesting and significant disclosure, just at the moment when the greatest of them is *in articulo mortis*. Wemyss described the condition of that part of Bohemia, which is exclusively German, as one of acute discontent.

He had much which was arresting to say of the Versailles Conference, where he was the representative of the British Navy, and believed, with Henry Wilson, our military representative, that if the military problem was disposed of, the rest would follow as a matter of course. This, however, was not the view of the President of the United States, and the mischief that ensued was, in his opinion, due to the erroneous notion entertained by Lloyd George of the weight to be attached to President Wilson's views, guided and governed as they were by unreal visions without grasp of practical statesmanship. This erroneous impression, moreover, he attributed to the defective estimates of Wilson's character and abilities communicated to the Prime Minister.

*August 9th.*—The Prime Minister's speech on India has, I fear, excited as many misgivings as it allayed, and it certainly was not so well considered as such an exceptional declaration deserved to be; it is unfortunate that the occasion arose at a moment when his mind is so immersed in other weighty matters. The part he is playing in the European Conference is worthier of his fame, and, threatening as the present position is, I understand he is not at all unlikely to bring Poincaré nearer to an agreement, though the latter has to think of the politicians at home who are

[1] Seat of the Earl of Strafford.

quite ready to charge him with subservience to Lloyd George. However, the pressure from all quarters is so great that it contracts the possible area of dissension, and from the point of view of ultimate concord it is not inexpedient to start from the extreme points of difference.

Upon this day twenty-four years ago Queen Victoria approved the Order in Council appointing me to my present post. No other officer of the Civil Service is left whose charge goes back to that date, and I have exceeded the term of both my immediate predecessors. A survey of this long period, at the opening of what is my last year of office, may well be postponed to the end, but without vanity I may claim to have maintained the credit of my office and enjoyed the confidence of those with whom I have been brought in contact.

*August 15th.*—The break-up of the Conference without immediate result is to be deplored, but I am not without hope it may still be the prelude to a larger understanding. The candid statement of people's differences is not without hope of the future, and those who have watched the proceedings more closely have noted a sensible approximation so far as the atmosphere engendered by discussion is concerned. With a man like Poincaré, from whom the spontaneity characteristic of most Frenchmen is absent, there is a particular drawback in the inability of the two principals to understand each other save through the medium of an interpreter, and I am told there were moments when one capable of taking him up in his own tongue would have found the vehicle to a better apprehension of his point of view. In relegating the business to the Commission of Reparations there is a chance of the horizon of negotiation being extended so as to cover the relations of Allied indebtedness to the substance of the problem, with a further opportunity for the exploration of the American point of view, which may have the consequence of putting the Balfour Note in its true perspective. In the controversy it has excited there seems to have been a curious inability to grasp the true sense of the situation, and it has been left to a United States Senator to point out that it is not simply a matter of cancellation of debt that is in question so much as the spirit in which it is done and the ultimate object to be achieved. The people of the United States, says Senator Borah, could never be greatly interested in any such proposition unless it is accompanied by some definite announcement of the process through which its objects are to be guaranteed by a policy of disarmament common to all the European countries. Some such declaration would give an enormous momentum to the academical discussions on the topic which occupy the League of Nations from time to time, and so far, as I heard three nights ago from Eric Drummond, have had little fruition, in spite of the eagerness and enthusiasm to which they testify.

The view of America is, in short, that without security of this kind the cancellation of debt implies nothing more than a relief to the Powers, which might be used to foster the growth of armaments and in the long run to provoke fresh wars and incur new debts.

Among the Orders passed at the last Council three were of signal interest and importance, viz. those granting a Constitution to Palestine and furnishing the Governor with instructions for giving effect to the new order of things. The difficulty of composing within one instrument the claims of jealous races and contending creeds has been met by great wisdom and adroitness, and the adjustment of rival pretensions is conspicuous witness to the prudent statesmanship that has watched and tended the growth of the new State. It was not without a thrill of real emotion that I set my hand to the documents by which the King in Council inaugurated a new and most hopeful departure affecting the destiny of the historic land of which Moses was the first lawgiver.

*September.*—The first fortnight was spent at Aldeburgh, where I had some sailing, and after a Sunday at Norwich in the exploration of the ecclesiastical buildings, not omitting the Catholic Cathedral, which was built by the late Duke of Norfolk, we were a week at Euston and came in for a shooting party (Bristols, Macclesfields, Cadogan, Douglas Tollemache, and Charles Fitz-Roy). Our holiday came to an agreeable end with a few days at Babraham, where we met the Clarendons and Lady Suffield, the two ladies being occupied by the Women's Congress at Cambridge.

*October.*—Some observations on Lloyd George's overthrow are not out of place at this juncture. From the first days of the present Parliament the ultimate break-up of the Coalition was inevitable. From that moment a section of the Tory Party imbued with a false notion of their importance, began to work for its destruction. Not content with a preponderance in the Cabinet and the House of Commons, they sought to dictate to more reasonable friends the terms of the compact. Impatient of compromise, wedded to stale conventions and formulary tyrannies, forgetful of past failures, and seeing in every popular movement a menace to their own selfishness, they strove persistently to undermine the foundations of the Alliance, and this was done so stealthily that, when the moment for testing its strength came, it dissolved upon the first assault, to no one's surprise more than that of the late Prime Minister.

Whether, if the Irish Treaty had not intervened to excite discontent and inflame passion, a different result would have been reached, is open to question: some other issue would have been made to serve the same purpose, perhaps with more bitterness as it came to be a matter of personal antipathies and party resentments. For months the mutterings of the coming storm

were audible by those who lent their ears to its approach, and the real source of wonder lay in the long arrest of its arrival.

*November 13th.*—For the twenty-fifth time I took part in the nomination of Sheriffs at the Lord Chief Justice's Court, having seen in his chair five occupants of the position, and, as presiding officer, no less than nine Chancellors of the Exchequer. Baldwin acquitted himself with dignity and readiness and Hewart's pleasantries of manner were well timed.

*November 16th.*—The causes of the change of Government, now, it is clear, in process of confirmation by a sufficient section of the electorate, derive, as the incidents of the poll indicate, from the straining at the Coalition leash by the obscurer elements of the Tory Party—a condition due to the gradual growth of discontent within its ranks spreading from the bottom upwards and finally driving a complete rift between two sections of its leaders. This discontent had divers promptings, some chronic —the outgrowth of *amour-propre*, which is a malady endemic in every political connection—and others due to accidental antipathies and the sense of personal grievance. The late Prime Minister's idiosyncrasy had much to do with it ; his all-pervading activity gave substance to the belief that his actual influence, in the opinion of many malefic, extended to spheres and weighed upon individuals which, as a matter of fact, it never touched ; and this belief was diligently fomented by persons who knew what they were about and spared no effort to calumniate and malign the object of their distrust or dislike.

Lloyd George's concentration upon his immediate aims no doubt led to the impression that he had sometimes failed to grasp the wider features of the situation, and, though some may have been put aside or even escaped him at the moment, the nimbleness of his intelligence enabled him to overtake their survey through the medium of successive mental pictures, while his critics too often lost his trail in the mazes of dialectical subtlety through which he plunged with fearless audacity. Conservatism is necessarily slow to move and suspicious of deception, and the average man is apt to consider himself bamboozled when the stages of a logical process are not made manifest. Inspiration scorns evidential values, and that was the Prime Minister's crime in the eyes of a large body of his nominal adherents.

A good story of Lord Birkenhead at Whittingehame is told. After dinner, when he was looking forward to bridge with the usual accompaniments, his host, it is alleged, took him out for a walk and discoursed upon " Mind." Upon returning to the house he was given short respite and taken out again to look, as he said, " at the damned stars." Lord Balfour having drawn attention to what really interested him, proceeded to say that the anxieties and concerns of political warfare left him cold !

*November* 21*st*.—A Council was held this morning in connection with the approval of the King's Speech and for the swearing in of the six Privy Councillors bequeathed by the retiring Prime Minister to a grateful country. The list was quite unexceptionable, if not distinguished. I had given them a careful drilling the day before, and they acquitted themselves with credit under the leadership of Watson, the new Lord Advocate, son of the great Judge whose name liveth for evermore in the annals of the Judicial Committee. He is a man of attractive personality, and it is not to the good fame of Galloway that he should have been rejected at the recent election. Willie Bridgeman, Sir R. Sanders, and F. Ponsonby were present with the Lord President.

I had a conversation with Geoffrey Dawson this afternoon, who tells me he is in treaty with the present management of "The Times" upon an invitation from them to resume the editorship.

*November* 24*th*.—I learn that it was a great disappointment to Sumner that he did not obtain the Chancellorship. Having identified himself so closely with the "Diehards" and proved one of their most formidable gladiators, he relied upon their assistance to win the object of his ambitions. Salisbury, I believe, did his best, but the Prime Minister preferred, perhaps wisely, the assured political instincts and sober attainments of Cave, as tested by long collaboration in the House of Commons. He may well have thought that one oratorical pyrotechnist following another would have been too much for the sobriety of the Woolsack. However, as it is, there may still be some pretty duels between the two if Lord Sumner places his powerful intellect and sarcastic tongue at the service of the Government.

From another quarter I hear that, some months ago, there was a strong move within the Tory Party to see Birkenhead their leader, and a large fund was subscribed to place him in a position to accept the charge; but, on second thoughts, he seems to have held himself aloof from prosecuting the design, and the money was returned to the subscribers.

At the request of the present Lord Fisher I wrote some notes upon his father for the biography now in preparation by Mr. Sidebotham. Lord Fisher, in acknowledging my testimony, paid it this cordial tribute: "Very many thanks for your very brilliant little character sketch, which I will send to Mr. Sidebotham, and will hope hereafter to place it among the most valuable of the records I have of my dear old father."

*December* 6*th*.—The final stage of the long controversy with Ireland was reached to-day, the King coming up from Sandringham for the necessary Council, to which the Lord President, Devonshire, Novar, and F. Ponsonby were called, Bath, Cromer, and Shaftesbury being at the same time sworn Privy Councillors.

In order to ensure the execution of the consequential instruments in time for the Dublin authorities to act at the shortest notice, I had the necessary documents prepared beforehand and submitted to the King at the Council-table, with the result that before 2.30 the new order of things was in being on both sides of St. George's Channel, and Tim Healy free to be received by the King as Governor-General of the Free State. Devonshire told me that, in the course of his interview, he found him the strongest Tory imaginable, and the Prime Minister, I hear, declares he had a similar experience, which is in strict conformity with what Desart told me the other day. Some of the Departments were a little shocked at the rude departure from precedent I was obliged to insist upon, but in the result everything has worked as smoothly as the most carefully adjusted machine could effect. The design was to hold the preliminary meeting of the Dail for the swearing of members forthwith, and it was deemed imperative not to protract the process beyond 5 p.m., lest, with darkness coming on, some should lose their sense of restraint and commit themselves to disorderly practices.

It will be necessary to hold another Council on Saturday at seven o'clock, when the King will return to London, in order to "implement" the Government of the Northern Province, as their Parliament is to proceed to-morrow—the first opportunity—to declare for separate institutions, and upon the presentation of an address to the King the following day, Letters Patent constituting the office of Governor-General will be required. For this purpose I have got Shaftesbury, as a North of Ireland magnate, to promise his attendance.

As a curious illustration of the community of feeling between North and South Ireland which their new relations are sure to engender, Craig and his friends are said to have placed in Healy's hands the representations to the British Government which they desire to be made upon the Cattle Embargo Removal Bill! Common interests must in the long run dictate mutual accommodation.

*December* 11*th*.—The Council for bringing the Government of Northern Ireland into action came off at 7 p.m., W. Bridgeman, Shaftesbury, and Stamfordham attending with the Lord President, the Home Secretary's countersign being wanted to two of the documents bearing the Sign-manual. The King has wisely decided not to receive Abercorn, the new Governor-General, until he has been able to see Healy.

*December* 14*th*.—By a happy coincidence we were able to dovetail a Council for the Prorogation between two days devoted to the King's Windsor shooting, and I trust it may be the last for some time to come, though there are Orders outstanding in connection with the new Irish State which may lay claim to urgency

at any moment. Edward Wood attended as the second Cabinet Minister on the occasion of a King's Speech, Cromer and F. Ponsonby making the four with the Lord President. I was very much gratified at the receipt, through the Colonial Office, of the Duke of Devonshire's warm acknowledgment of the help we had been to him in the difficult task of liquidating his Irish responsibilities.

*December 18th.*—I saw Troubridge at luncheon, just home from Buda-Pesth, where he says life runs comfortably enough. He takes a gloomy view of the mutual relations of the Danubian States, which cannot be got to realise that the prosperity of their neighbours is not inconsistent with their own welfare. His duty in controlling the navigation of the river is always being brought up against the passion of some one State to prejudice the trade of another, as this can easily be done by holding up the transmission of goods and imposing every kind of delay upon their progress: practices which, by increasing terminal charges and impairing the value of commodities, are very largely responsible for the scarcity and impoverishment that prevail. With a refinement of malevolence, the transit of corn is made the special object of these tactics.

## 1923

*January 2nd.*—With the New Year there is, I am advised, a tendency to less implacable sentiments on the part of those mutually concerned with the aspect of international politics. It is realised that, in spite of his signal gifts and a real talent for the formularies of conciliation, Mr. Lloyd George too often proved in practice the stormy petrel of negotiation, and his record as such had in the minds of most European statesmen weakened his usefulness at the conference-table.

Bonar Law has taken his place with a less compromising past and the capacity for putting unpalatable truths with a deprecatory restraint which is at once disarming and persuasive. There is nothing provocative about him, nothing that excites pugnacity, but rather, in his own phrase, something tranquillising—a gift which has already been tested with salutary results, and as the arena of disputation expands the vibrations of a placable understanding are charged with the momentum of an eirenicon.

*January 5th.*—The collapse of the Paris Conference is not so much due to incompatibility of principle in dealing with fundamentals as to failure on the line of approach to secure and maintain unity of purpose. France is torn by two distracting fears from which we are happily exempt: she is in much more immediate want of money, and she is harassed by misgivings in respect of Germany's recovery of strength, whether political or economic, which English opinion can neither measure nor share. Its guides

in Parliament and the Press are deficient in that imaginative insight which lies at the root of sympathy, and they cannot bring themselves to gauge the weight of tendencies which they deem childish or chauvinistic.

French fears may be exaggerated, or even erroneous, but their existence is not due to calculated perversity, and, if the two Powers are to co-operate, there must be some approximation to a mutual understanding of the atmosphere in which each other works.

*January* 15*th.*—The death of Frederic Harrison recalls the only time I met him, at luncheon with the Wentworth-Beaumonts in the winter of 1898–9, and, though he was superficially overshadowed by the robust garrulity of Sir William Harcourt, I had time to be much struck by his wisdom and urbanity. Positivism as a system operated for the moment with disintegrating force upon some aspects of current theology, but on the constructive side speedily demonstrated its weakness, notwithstanding the intellectual eminence of its first apostolate. The attempt to pillage the old creed of Christendom in order to equip it with the buttresses of belief did not long survive Huxley's playful description of " Catholicism without God," but the contribution of its leaders to the study of history will never be forgotten. It is not too much to say that no single essay in the English language is so ripe in information, so pregnant in meaning, and so eloquent in exposition as Harrison's account of the thirteenth century—the most impressive vindication of the Catholic Church which was ever wrung from the pen of an antagonist. What tribute to the buildings, wherein its spirit is enshrined, could be higher than the words " It is a tenable view that in pure inventive fertility and in imaginative range these vast composite creations—the cathedrals of the thirteenth century—in all their wealth of architecture, statuary, painted glass, enamels, embroideries, and inexhaustible decorative work, may be set beside the entire painting of the sixteenth century." For a parallel we must go to " Latin Mystique " of Remy de Gourmont, another agnostic, who contributed that wonderful dictum to the proper apprehension of the part played in history by the Catholic Church : " Les meilleurs catholiques et les plus utiles à leur religion et à leur parti furent en même temps de grands païens."

*January* 21*st.*—I had luncheon with Lady Tweeddale and met Lady Ardilaun, the Neville Lytteltons, Ernles, Macmahons, and one or two others. In my function as host I sat between Lady Ardilaun and Lady Lyttelton ; the last-named had worked for some time during the war with Mrs. Erskine Childers, whom she described as most able and at the same time possessing a most dominant personality. While conceding the English many qualities which commanded admiration, she had allowed her reading of their relations with Ireland to arouse feelings of fanatical hatred

which swept aside every other consideration and had enabled her to infect the whole circle of her husband's Irish kin with the same venom. Lady Ardilaun was able to say that, though resident in that highly disturbed district of which Dublin is the centre, she had never been interfered with in the smallest degree, which I took as a tribute to the conviction of both sides that she was Irish to the core, notwithstanding her antipathy to the Treaty.

Ernle told me John Murray was going to retain the editorship of the " Quarterly " in his own hands, which he thought he might do successfully, aided by a chief clerk who had been George Prothero's right-hand man.

*January 24th.*—The Government is again betraying an undue sensitiveness to ignorant criticism, if, as I am informed, a project is under serious consideration to ask a Committee of Barristers to undertake a review of the work of the Parliamentary Counsel, which, considering the highly specialised gifts possessed by these gentlemen, is like invoking the opinion of a body of general practitioners upon the conclusions of medical experts. There would, perhaps, be some reason in calling upon the British Academy to pronounce upon the literary and grammatical side of their productions.

I met Shortt yesterday, who is still without any substantial prospect of realising his hopes of a judgeship. By way of fortifying his patience, Lord Mersey delivered the dictum a day or two ago, " Judges rarely resign, and never die ! "

*February 1st.*—Egerton Grey, whose position at the head of the Enemy Debts Clearing House in this country brings him into close touch with German opinion, tells me that a study of German newspapers coming under his observation brings out very clearly a growing desire to come to terms with France, as the present unrest is fatal to recovery. The Germans are under no illusion regarding the support they are likely to get from any quarter; England and Italy will not move a finger in their behalf, and they are too intelligent to look for aid from Russia, for which they would have to pay a heavy price in reputation and cash. The German knows when to bully and when to cringe, and he is beginning to ask what he is to gain by further obduracy, and whether there are not ample opportunities for compromise, whereby Franee would gain the substance of things hoped for without wrecking the nascent activities of German trade.

A significant feature in the present condition of Germany—viz. the wonderful energy displayed in the field of production, while German exports are at a standstill—is explained by a German authority in whom he has confidence by the statement that all the resources of the country are now being concentrated on the erection of the newest and most effective machinery, in every branch of manufacture, which, once the present deadlock is over,

it is calculated will place German competition beyond the reach of rivalry by any other industrial community.

Egerton Grey pronounced another dictum, expository of the present psychology of Central Europe, which is interesting—that the Magyar is of all peoples concerned the most exact in the fulfilment of his word and in the discharge of the obligations which he undertakes.

*February 6th.*—I saw Stanley Baldwin this afternoon, who spoke with a sober satisfaction of the agreement with America, which he believes will turn out more favourably to us than could be expected on the face of things. There is already a candidly expressed conviction in many quarters that we have more than justified our reputation for financial probity, the result of which will be seen not only in the early recovery of the normal exchange, but, as he thinks, with the lapse of time, in a disposition on the part of America to make a further abatement of the terms to our advantage. He considers, moreover, that the consequence of a few payments upon the present scale will do more to embarrass than to please financial experts on the other side, which cannot fail to expedite some modification of the arrangement in our behoof. He will watch, therefore, with growing interest the development of events. I shall be glad if his hopes are realised, as I think there are few politicians who would have played such an upright and far-seeing part in circumstances of great doubt and difficulty. It cannot be denied that parliamentary life has a tendency to blind men to the finer shades of conduct, and it is due to him to concede that he belongs to a different and more noble category.

*February 12th.*—The Council held to-day in connection with the King's Speech at the opening of Parliament was made the occasion for the King's Declaration of Consent under the Royal Marriages Act to the projected marriage of the Duke of York. In accordance with precedent in the case of Princess Mary, the Lord Chancellor and the Prime Minister were summoned, with the Lord President and the Home Secretary, and also the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Lord Chamberlain. John Rawlinson, M.P. for Cambridge University, the only Privy Councillor who figures in the New Year List of Honours, was present to be sworn, and was not unworthy in character and deportment to take his place with the rest. It fell out that the day happened to mark the twentieth anniversary of the Archbishop's accession to the Primacy, and he was the modest recipient of everyone's congratulations, though he told me he did not wish to emulate the length of Manners Sutton's episcopate, which extended to twenty-eight years.

The King's Speech seemed to me to reflect the difficulties of the Administration rather than any confidence in their power

to overcome them ; and that is the prevailing impression that the Government itself produces upon independent opinion.

*February 20th.*—I saw Tyrrell for the first time since his return from Lausanne ; he had nothing but praise for Curzon's tact and patience and his immense power of work in the management of the protracted negotiations, which for the moment have come to no result. Whether rightly or wrongly, Ismet seems to have been cowed by the fear that assassination would follow his signature of the Treaty, and, from the character of the Oriental horde gathered on the spot, there was perhaps enough to justify his fears. However, Tyrrell is satisfied that Kemal, when he has trifled long enough with the Angora Assembly, will honour the arrangement offered to Turkey. The Assembly is composed, as to two-thirds, of peasants and one-third of degenerates, and, as the only alternative to the treaty is closer relations with Russia, which Kemal already finds irksome and desires to discontinue, the end may be regarded as secure.

*March 4th.*—I paid a visit of condolence to Lady Desart and admired the courage and restraint with which she faced the overwhelming disaster that has overtaken their home.[1] She told me one story that illustrates how persistently a vein of broad comedy traverses the most tragic phases of Irish story. A neighbour of theirs, Lord Bellew, shortly before the destruction of Desart, applied to the Free State to provide him with a company of Civic Guards for the protection of his home. In due course a body of men in plain clothes presented themselves, but the lodge-keeper, believing them to be republicans, refused admission, whereupon they forced their way through, and, having tied up the man, proceeded towards the mansion. Here Lord Bellew, falling into the same error, hastily furnished himself with all available weapons and opened fire upon the invaders ; they briskly replied, but, upon one of their number being wounded, thought it prudent to withdraw. When Lord Bellew, full of pride at having defeated the enemy single-handed, reported the affair to the authorities, he found, to his intense chagrin, that he had succeeded in beating his protectors. However, all ended well, as the Free State Government, much to its credit, on learning that its servants had disobeyed orders in not wearing uniform, absolved Lord Bellew for his part in the affair !

*March 5th.*—The Government has suffered two decisive electoral defeats on ground of their own choice.

The basic cause of both is the fact that Lloyd George, upon whom so much enmity was concentrated, once out of the way, the Government have no roots in the soil. With all Mr. Bonar Law's excellent qualities, it is a misreading of the times to think that a weary valetudinarian is a figure to conjure with in the eyes of

[1] Desart Court was fired by political incendiaries.

a community beset with so many dangers and faced with problems of such menacing urgency. A body of well-intentioned and amiable gentlemen, whose virtues are more impressive than their talents, are hardly the persons to liquidate a situation so largely compounded, to use a significant phrase, of the "distress of nations with perplexity."

*March 10th.*—The Lord President's dinner to settle the Roll of Sheriffs was not very largely attended, and passed off tranquilly, in strong contrast to the hilarity which was excited in Carlton Gardens by Winston and Lord Birkenhead. The Lord Chancellor, Devonshire, Bath, Peel, Shaftesbury and Cromer, Willie Bridgeman and Montagu Barlow were the sole ministerial guests, with Hartington put in to save thirteen. I had Peel on one side and Shaftesbury on the other. Peel had a good deal to say of India which was interesting, and in full confirmation of what I hear directly: he anticipates trouble in the Assembly over the salt tax, which will have to be met by the application of the Viceroy's certificate overriding opposition, on the model of the course recently pursued in connection with attacks on native Princes. He expressed himself pleased with the complete accord which prevailed between him and Lord Reading on the great issues of policy, and could not wish for happier personal relations, though there were moments when hesitation on the spot, whatever it may be due to, revealed a feature of the situation which is the source of some disquiet. However, Lord Reading's decisions in the end have always carried confidence. The judicial habit of looking all round a problem is perhaps prone to retard executive action, but is none the less emphatic in the character it gives to resolution, when once taken.

After the settlement of the Roll I regaled the company with one or two stories of old times when Queen Victoria and King Edward dealt with it and the late Duke of Devonshire officiated. It was curious to have again, after the lapse of twenty-five years, a Lord Salisbury and a Duke of Devonshire, the principal figures at the dinner. I got the latter to introduce me to his son, thus making the fourth I have known in line, past, present, and to come, of the heirs of the House of Cavendish.

*March 12th.*—Council this morning for pricking the Sheriffs. Opportunity was taken to swear Neville Chamberlain as Minister of Health, and he subsequently had an interview with the King. F. Ponsonby and John Baird completed the muster, with Lord Salisbury as Lord President and Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster. In talking of the Duchy's relation to the Crown, Ponsonby put forward a curious hypothesis in the course of an argument against its being necessarily identified as a royal appanage. Supposing, he said, the Prince of Wales renounced the Crown and it was settled on him as the heir male of the House of

Lancaster, where would be its relation to the Crown in such circumstances ? There is, I believe, no doubt that it would be part of the policy of the Labour Party to nationalise both the Duchy of Lancaster and the Duchy of Cornwall, giving those who have rights to them a fixed income in lieu of the revenues of the Duchies respectively.

(*Acute illness interrupted entries*)

*March 27th.*—At a Council this morning to clear off arrears before Easter, Bath, Somerleyton, and F. Ponsonby were present. An expected Irish Order dealing with " Stamps " so as to prevent their being charged at both ends on transmission of deeds between the two countries, had to be postponed owing to the supineness of the Free State Legislature, and His Majesty was a little disturbed at the prospect of having to hold another Council before he leaves London on Thursday. I insisted upon those concerned telegraphing to Dublin in order to prevent any further delay, and obtained satisfactory assurances which I hope will be honoured.

The following note from my daughter's " Indian Diary," recording a second impression of the " Taj," is worth preserving for the depth of its feeling and a certain felicity of diction.

" Delhi,
" *March 6th,* 1923.

" To be perfectly happy at the Taj you must, alas, be perfectly selfish, or else gifted with the absorption of a Buddha. At sunrise it is deserted and silent, except for a melancholy and unhurried gardener. He wails, most probably, simply because he has had no breakfast. Still, his melancholy is discreet. As discreet as the impudence of the bird-folk, so secure in their dreaming garden, or as the soft-footed peasant, the women in their full skirts and long veils staining the marble with tulip stains of flame and crimson. But the moon brings fashion, and with it the Babu, the Eurasian, and the Tripper. Now the Babu, even in his boots, has adopted the stridency of the West, the Eurasian the holiday spirit of Hampstead Heath, and the Tripper a silhouette disturbing indeed when viewed against that background of enchanted stone. So there remains but to endure with what bad grace of irritation one may.

" It is hard to say when the Taj is loveliest. The mere fact that the grievous trinity do not afflict the rising sun, is, too, so much to that moment's advantage. But, as certainly and impatience apart, sunrise at Agra is one long miracle, from the moment when the Taj stands a thing of shadowless grey lace against the fading night sky, to the moment when the golden light moulds the sweep of arch and dome. You can, too, watch

the rose-red walls of the Fort and the domes of the pearl mosque hanging like a fairy city above the blue curve of the river, or sit in the tomb itself, where the eternal twilight is suddenly shot with gold and every whisper echoes like a hundred fading voices clinging to a haunting memory."

*March 29th.*—Last night Lady Betsy Gore, Bath and Roddie, who arrived from Berlin on Monday, dined with us. Roddie was able to give the substance of a conversation he had with Cuno on the eve of his departure, which sheds a significant light upon much that is obscure in the recent relations of France and Germany. Roddie is prepared to stake his credit upon Cuno's honesty of speech and purpose, and the conversation was opened by his saying that he did not want to draw anything from the other's reluctance and desired only the assurance that he would give him the truth, as he believed it to be, to which Cuno readily replied that he had no other wish, and, moreover, it would be very soon discovered if he did not adhere to this intention.

Cuno then proceeded to say that, upon his taking office, he met Stinnes and the leading industrialists in order to exchange views, and after certain preliminaries invited them to lay before him, with all the necessary data, their estimates of what Germany could pay. This they did at a subsequent interview, which drew from him the declaration that it was not enough, and unless they were prepared to go further he would resign his charge. Thereupon the industrialists asked him to produce his own figures, which upon examination proved to be an advance of some 20 to 25 per cent. on their own. After some hesitation and under pressure of Cuno's threat of resignation, they admitted that Germany could pay the sum indicated, but they did not recommend it, as it was their conviction France would still persist in her present policy, and the effort to meet her would so deplete German resources that they would be left with next to no margin upon which to build up the country's economic competence. Cuno, however, persisted, and it was finally agreed to proceed upon the new basis. Herr Bergmann, a prominent member of the German Foreign Office, accordingly repaired to Paris with revised proposals to the French Government. His arrival was very coldly greeted ; indeed, he was told that the time was past for the consideration of amended terms, which no doubt did not differ materially from those already presented. Bergmann at once replied that the offer he was charged to deliver was on an altogether different scale from anything previously tendered, and, if it did not go so far as the requirements of the Treaty, he ventured to think the French Government would recognise the genuineness of the German desire that no obstacle should stand in the way of agreement. The only answer he received was a

refusal to look at his proposals, and he had to leave Paris without even the gratification of being allowed to open his despatch-box.

This affront Cuno rightly held to mean that "reparations" were only a blind to cover an ulterior policy with quite other aims, and this conclusion received a striking endorsement from an independent quarter. The Ruhr magnates had opened negotiations with the *Comité des Forges*, which controls this branch of French commercial activity, with a view to the establishment of a common organisation of the industry upon the lines of French partnership in its management and proceeds. A very considerable advance in this direction had been made when the French Government intervened, observing that this arrangement was all very well, but it only covered objects obtainable during the maintenance of peace, whereas their design was to command the profits of Ruhr production in time of war, and so, through the possession of a monopoly in the field of steel manufacture, to gain that security to which all their exertions tended. One of the causes of this development on the part of French aims is stated to be that the coal of the Saar Valley, which they acquired under the Treaty, has proved entirely unsuited to the blast furnaces of Alsace.

This is a plain, unvarnished tale, which bears upon the surface guarantees of truth, besides the plausibility of fitting into the framework of facts such as the course of events has supplied; but whether, granting the general accuracy of the narrative, France is on the true path to win the security she desiderates must be left to the event to determine. None, at least, can deny that she is prepared to take tremendous risks in the pursuit of the design, and may by success lose more by the good-will she stands to forfeit than she expects to gain from all the material advantages obtainable. Time holds imponderable values in its scales, of which human fretfulness and impatience are apt to lose sight. *Flendo ducimus horas.*

At the Council this morning to provide for Tuesday's omission, Somerleyton and Stamfordham attended, with the Lord President. While we were waiting the Queen appeared, remarkably well and full of a joyous outlook on life. H.M. was very courteous, and kindly told me she had seen my son at Goldsborough, where his care of the preparations for the Christening had met with success; she also enquired very kindly after his wife, who has recently undergone a bad operation. These proofs of thoughtfulness contribute greatly to the hold she has upon the affections of the people.

*April 4th.*—Nothing could have gratified me more than the generous appreciation of my official work conveyed in this letter from Haldane. It is the kind of testimonial, both in substance and source, which I enjoy.

"CLOAN, AUCHTERARDER, PERTHSHIRE,
"*April 3rd*, 1923.

"MY DEAR FITZROY,

"The papers tell me that you are now retiring from your Office. I wish to send you a line.

"I look back on an association of unbroken pleasantness, and that pleasantness has arisen not merely from delightful personal relations, but from the statesmanlike way in which you have done all the work in which it was my privilege to come in contact with you.

"You may, indeed, look back on a long period most usefully spent in the service of the State. I and many others will always look back on that period in this light.

"Believe me,

"Yours very sincerely,

"HALDANE."

In supplement of my warmest thanks, it is due to him to add that I should have often failed to achieve the full measure of success if his signal gifts of insight and persuasion had not been unreservedly at my disposal.

*April 6th.*—The death of Mallock recalls days at Balliol, where he was my contemporary, 1870–1874. The uncertain character of his literary success was largely due to an infirmity of taste which, in the field of fiction, prevented his handling doubtful situations with tact or reticence. His writing was more remarkable for gifts of language than depth of thought, and the caustic uses to which he put its verbal brilliance served his reputation better than the serious purpose of his later efforts. I remember passages from the "New Republic" while in the making, read to a group of friends, and, after fifty years, I can recall the vivid impression created upon fresh and expectant minds.

The laboured defence of Conservatism into which he drifted and the overwhelming dulness of his polemic against Socialism, eventually landed him in penury, from which a Civil List pension did little to extricate him. His condition at last was, I fear, one of galling indigence, in sad contrast to the lustre of early promise. Ephemeral as such compositions are, his Newdigate Prize Poem on the Suez Canal deserved a longer life than much of his prose work. There was something in it of the wistfulness of the desert and the immemorial sighing of dead civilisations at the violence done to their ancient haunts in bringing the immobility of the East into touch with the stir and agitation of Western life—the music, in fact, of a poetry which lives on in forlorn echoes.

*April 16th.*—In spite of every effort to avoid it while the King was at Windsor, a Council proved necessary to-day, an Order being required in connection with income-tax payable in Ireland

before the Budget Resolutions were reached to-night. Salisbury came direct from Hatfield, and, as Ponsonby was unexpectedly away, I took Charlie Wortley down with me in a hired motor. The only alternative would have been to detain the Archbishop of Canterbury, who was at Windsor for the Sunday; but, as he had to confront the Bishops on Prayer Book Revision an hour or two later, he would have been loth to comply. The King, however, was quite content, indeed pleased to see Stuart of Wortley, as he detained him for an audience after the Council and was good enough to thank him for coming, an act of courtesy which pleased the recipient. I was very glad to have his companionship, for fifty years ago we were intimates at Balliol, and there are no ties in my judgment so strong as those formed in University days.

*April 19th.*—I had a communication from the Attorney-General urging the necessity of a Council on Saturday to provide for an Interpretation Order supplemental to that covering the deportation to Ireland of Art O'Brien, the arch-ringleader of the recently discovered plot, whose "Habeas Corpus" is the subject of proceedings in the Court of Appeal on Monday. The Parliamentary Counsel have had to go through the whole Statute Book to elucidate its application to Ireland, and in this case appear to have overlooked inserting "regulations thereunder" after the title of an Act which is included in the Schedule of a particular Order. The whole difficulty turns upon whether the words "British Isles" are to be construed as comprising Ireland or not, whether, in fact, the expression is used geographically or politically, and the Attorney-General shrinks from going into Court on Monday unless the point is made clear, as no loophole can safely be left through which O'Brien may obtain his liberty. It seemed to me, however, an act of doubtful prudence at this stage of the case.

*April 21st.*—W. Bridgeman took the place of the Lord President at the Council this morning, which the King managed to hold at 11.30, leaving Windsor at 9.45, Cromer and Ponsonby completing the attendance. Conversations with the Parliamentary Counsel had convinced me of the risk of the King's going to Italy for ten days without making provision for Councils being held in his absence, and I asked Bridgeman to submit the question to His Majesty, Ponsonby agreeing that it was only prudent. There is some difficulty in finding a Minister to form part of the King's *suite*, which is the usual practice on these occasions, and useful as providing an intermediary if political problems are discussed. I suggested to Ponsonby that Bridgeman himself would serve the purpose well, who confessed he would like to go but shrank from throwing his House of Commons work upon his Under-Secretary, who was rather a sick man.

Referring to the Protestant passions of Gisborough and the

crew of fanatics who pamper each other's prejudices in denouncing the King's visit to the Pope, Ponsonby told me that, when King Edward consulted his Ministers on the propriety of such a step, they one and all demurred; whereupon, not to be baulked in taking a step he felt to be right, he put it to them in a cipher telegram that he was prepared to do it on his own responsibility, and left it to them to object. They took the hint, and the visit came off to the general satisfaction: an act of strength which goes far to justify King Edward's character for vision in the sphere of international relations. While waiting I had some talk with Lucan, and recommended him to mention to the King the Pope's recently published record of his adventures as an Alpinist, which are quite out of the common and display immense courage and endurance, as it would flatter His Holiness to learn that his visitor knew the book and supply a subject of conversation which might keep them off dangerous topics.

At the end of business His Majesty declared his readiness to follow precedent and provide for Councils to be held by the Prince of Wales in his absence, and showed some interest in the model commission I had brought with me, which he identified as arising out of King Edward's visit to Biarritz the year before he died. It is due to the King to say that he always shows the greatest readiness to meet suggestions that have for their object the smooth running of the constitutional machine, and shows none of the jealousy Queen Victoria had of her successor-designate taking part in Acts of State.

*April 26th.*—The Royal Wedding[1] fulfilled public demand, both as a spectacle and as an object of popular interest. The Abbey authorities had learnt from the last occasion to furbish up their aptitude to arrange pageantry, though in this respect they fall as far behind the Roman Church as their dignitaries do in wearing copes, which so borne never lose the appearance of borrowed plumes.

The dignity of the nave was much enhanced by the absence of staging, due to a reduction in the list of invitations. I never saw or heard anything more remarkable than the masses who occupied the Parade Ground to greet and to applaud the wedded pair on their way to the station. It appeared as if the marriage of a Prince to one outside the royal *cénacle* made a special appeal to popular imagination.

*May 1st.*—A very remarkable story is told me of an act of mercy performed at his own inspiration by the Prince of Wales while in Belgium this week. One of his tasks was to visit a hospital for the special treatment of English soldiers suffering from facial disfiguration, the greatest difficulty of which is the extreme sensitiveness of the victims to any suspicion of curiosity or recoil on the part of a visitor. The Prince had seen all the

[1] Marriage of the Duke of York.

cases produced, and, noticing that there were only twenty-seven present out of the twenty-eight known to be in the institution, asked for the twenty-eighth. The officer in charge proceeded to explain that his was a case of such a frightful, not to say repulsive character, that it was not thought well to include him with the rest; whereupon the Prince said he had undertaken the job and refused to have anyone deprived of his sympathy who had, it seemed, the highest claim to it. He was at once taken to the patient's room, went straight up to the man and kissed him. Surely an act of compassion entitled to live in history with Philip Sidney's cup of water on the field of Zutphen. He who can so bear himself in the dread presence of extreme misery must have a genius for pity.

*May 4th.*—At this day's Council, which was attended by the Lord President, Sir Samuel Hoare, Cromer, and F. Ponsonby, a commission enabling the Prince of Wales to hold Councils in the King's absence was passed and a warrant submitted for the Royal Signature providing for the Instrument being passed under the Great Seal. This, the King told me, had been sent to him at Newmarket: a bewildering act of inconsequence on the part of the Home Office for which I could give no reason.

Hoare's presence was to the point, as an important Order increasing the powers of the Air Minister was included in the business. Fortunately, I had brought a copy with me, and he was able to refresh his memory on its contents before he had his audience with His Majesty, for which he was very grateful.

Newmarket seemed to have put the King into very good spirits, though Charlie Cust spoke ruefully of his own inability to spot a winner.

Lord Birkenhead administered, though perhaps with too much emphasis, a well-deserved rebuke to Simon for his nonchalant neglect of usage in absenting himself without explanation from the opening of a case in which he was leader. Lord Birkenhead, it is said, has never forgiven Simon for having asked him "How is your friend Hemmerde?" at a moment when the last-named was in very low water. Birkenhead has the reputation of sticking to his friends, whatever their fortunes. Atkinson, called in as a moderator, virtually confirmed Birkenhead. Dunedin again justified his instinctive prudence. "Lord Dunedin was also present, but made no comment," is the newspaper report.

At luncheon yesterday Stanley Baldwin commented, in reply to some remarks of mine, upon the difficulties that beset his temporary assumption of the leadership in the House of Commons, exposed as he was to attack from front or rear and upon either wing. The general atmosphere showed no great sign of clearing, and grave embarrassment might spring from the most unexpected events. His personal diffidence sets the soundness of his judg-

ment in high relief, and I could only premise that the severity of his trial would be the measure of his success.

*May 7th.*—The decision of the Court of Appeal in the O'Brien case was delayed so long that the result came as a foregone conclusion. I cannot but think that the laboured effort of the Executive to adjust action to the provisions of a Statute obviously out of date did them more harm than good, for the several members of the Court appeared to detect in it a confession of weakness. It is a pity that Orders in Council should have suffered discredit as organs of legislation, seeing the extent to which in modern times recourse is had to them, and those who framed this one would have been wise to lay more stress on the hazard incurred. However, the House of Lords may reverse the judgment, and Rawlinson, to whom I was speaking this afternoon, attached more weight to Hewart's opinion in the Divisional Court than to any that could be claimed for Bankes, Scrutton, or Atkin. Bankes was measured in his language, but Scrutton and Atkin took an obvious pleasure in unmasking the Home Office.

I heard from Sir A. Hopkinson, late Head of the University of Manchester, in these terms: "Let me take this opportunity, as I may not be meeting you again officially, of saying how much I appreciated your helpful action and advice in our University cases, both Manchester and Bristol. I believe that in both the result was really beneficial, and the difficulties satisfactorily surmounted."

*May 11th.*—Francis Acland, in opening the fourth session of the Dental Board, of which he is chairman, made these remarks: "The Board will hear with regret of the approaching retirement of Sir Almeric FitzRoy from the office of Clerk of the Council. His was the main responsibility for the formation of the Committee upon whose Report the Dentists Act of 1921 was founded, he was himself an active member of the Committee, he took a keen interest in the framing of the Act and of our 'Regulations,' and he has in all his dealings with dental matters always shown foresight, wisdom, and kindliness. The thanks of the dental profession for conspicuous services rendered to them will go with him on his retirement."

In my reply I ventured to think the record would have been very incomplete were it not for the part he played in the evolution of events, and a dispassionate observer would probably say that my highest service was in pressing upon the Lord President his nomination as chairman of the Committee and later in obtaining his consent to accept the nomination of the Privy Council as first chairman of the Dental Board, and wound up by saying, "Retirement, it appears, gives one all the satisfaction that could be derived from reading an obituary notice."

*May 13th.*—We had luncheon with the Haldanes, and met Mrs.

Belloc Lowndes, whose views on most subjects have a piquant originality and fine point which does not lend colour to the belief that fervent Catholicism is inconsistent with brilliant mundane intelligence. Haldane's approaches on the side of her faith were not without a Socratic humour which she did not fail to appreciate.

Haldane approved F. E.'s censure of Simon, though it perhaps betrayed some personal resentment: the culprit, he added, had treated the Judicial Committee to a like want of ceremony upon the same day.

We had an excellent luncheon on not too lavish a scale, and our host is decidedly the better for the care he has recently bestowed upon himself.

*May 14th.*—In compliance with Haldane's wishes, I wrote two letters on matters he wanted taken up before I retired: (1) the inferior food supplied by the contractor to the Judges in the Privy Council, upon which I asked Warren Fisher to intervene with all the force at his command; (2) the present position of the movement to establish a University at Reading, which in 1921 was held up for the collection of sufficient funds. Happily, Edward Cadogan is now M.P. for that town, and I accordingly appealed to him to acquaint me with the situation.

*Saturday, May 19th.*—I had a long talk with Nicholas Murray Butler,[1] who arrived yesterday from the United States in a vessel of 53,000 tons and 100 feet beam, with accommodation for 650 first-class passengers (only carrying 420) and of these not more than thirty you would desire to associate with, the rest composed of the rich class of unmentionables. He describes the industrial position in New York as very critical; thus, bricklayers who used to have four and a half dollars daily and laid 1,500 bricks, now lay only 500 and ask twenty dollars, with the result of arresting building. Ford is now the multi-millionaire, having last year paid income-tax on $58,000,000: his scheme of adding to the wages of his employees what he calls a sociological allowance, based upon their bringing life up to a certain standard of comfort and cultivation, offers far better results than any system of so-called profit-sharing, known to the old world. Oil fuel has revolutionised marine transport, for whereas coaling of big vessels used to occupy 200 men for three days, it now takes six to do the work in four hours.

Acute American observers, recently returned from Russia, do not believe in the stability of the present order: an autocratic bureaucracy at the head of the State, a middle class which has come into being in lieu of the old *intelligentsia*, as a child of revolution, and consists, adopting my words, of urban rascaldom in close alliance with the ruling ring, and the incalculable mass

[1] President of Columbia University.

of rural cultivators steeped in sullen hostility, awaiting the day when some man will appear to give voice to the slumbering passions of the unconsidered multitude. For the time the breakdown of communication fosters the tyranny of the murderous Juntas established in the great towns.

*May 20th.*—Bonar Law's resignation, grave as is the ministerial loss, both moral and parliamentary, merely anticipates the inevitable. No one can have been in touch with him these last months without recognising that his public career was nearly spent. He entered office a tired man, and leaves it worn out. Breakdowns such as his at sixty-five leave little margin for the play of recuperative forces. A sensitive and scrupulous temperament has its drawbacks when exposed to the hazards and mortifications of public life. The genial cynicism of a Lloyd George or the studied self-possession of an Asquith is proof against such risks. His earnestness gave force to his simplicity. He had the gift of dealing with delicate situations and yet leaving no trace of wounded sensibility or humbled pride. The most conspicuous example of this talent was displayed at the banquet in the Victoria Rooms to promote understanding between England and France, when, with consummate address, he stated the English case truthfully and uncompromisingly and yet without a word to touch the sore nerves of France, so handling the difficulties which each found in the way of mutual apprehension as to create the strongest appeal for a common forbearance.

In canvassing the possibilities of his successor, a great publicist, in a fit of delirium, put forward Arthur Balfour: as if a philosopher of seventy-five, who has recently been very ill and looks aged and tired, was likely to accept such an inheritance.

*May 22nd.*—I was talking to Stamfordham this morning on the situation. He is expecting the King before luncheon, but has no knowledge of what he intends to do.

Maurice Hankey came over from the Cabinet Office at the instance of Stanley Baldwin, who, he said, had just received the King's commission to form a Government and wanted to know the constitutional position as it affected him and his colleagues. I explained that the theory of the Constitution, up to the point of its present development, was that, on the new Prime Minister accepting the commission, all the offices of State were deemed to be at his disposal, and it was for him to ascertain how far all those he wished to retain were willing to continue in their present offices and invite them to remain, thus preserving such measure of continuity as was consistent with any changes he desired to make or circumstances rendered necessary.

*May 24th.*—I was in Downing Street this morning when Waterhouse still had hopes of Horne being secured for the Exchequer; but I saw the latter at 5.15, when he told me these hopes could

not be realised. He admitted that for a moment he had wavered upon representations which reached him from quarters in the City entitled to the highest respect, but on the whole he had been forced to the conclusion that he could not abandon responsibilities he had undertaken, which were not of the kind to be assumed one day and laid down the next. He thought, however, he could be of as much use to the Government in the independent position of a back bencher, and had just given Baldwin the assurance of his most loyal and unstinted support. I detected some flaw in the force of this reasoning, to which I did not think it my place to call attention. To my enquiry where else the P. M. could look, he replied with a genial smile, " Ah ! that is his difficulty."

*May 25th.*—At to-day's Council (Lord President, Prime Minister, W. Bridgeman, and F. Ponsonby) Baldwin was sworn First Lord of the Treasury, but he had no other appointments ready for confirmation. Robert Cecil was to have either the Privy Seal or the Duchy, and, as he wants the holders of these offices (and if possible the Chancellor of the Exchequer) to be in their places when Parliament meets, we are to have another Council on Monday. He admitted that his position in regard to the Exchequer was, as Horne said, a difficult one, short of retaining it temporarily himself, but he evidently felt his old colleague's failure to respond to his invitation rather bitterly, and there came out, what was no doubt at the back of Horne's mind during our conversation yesterday, that the difficulty lay with an agreement between those who acted together last October in no case to take office separately. I could not but think with him that to maintain this restriction after the lapse of eight months, in the present critical situation, was too big a sacrifice to the force of personal ties. I was much struck by the high pitch he gave to the standards of political life and by the obvious sincerity of his regret to find it meet so little sympathy. He promised to let me know the final arrangement as early in the afternoon as he could.

*May 27th.*—Another Council to-day, as Baldwin thought it essential that Robert Cecil should be fully installed as Lord Privy Seal before he undertook the task of ministerial apologist for the " Bridgeman " Indemnity Bill in the House of Commons this afternoon. The Lord President and Cromer came, and after the Council Davidson was sworn Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster. Robert Cecil looked more than ever like a gaunt but benevolent member of the family of the Falconidæ : one can see, too, the characteristics which won him in America the appellation of the " English Savonarola." The King told me he was prepared to hold a Council for winding up the business for which I was responsible on Thursday, and would fix 10.30 for the purpose.

*May 29th.*—MacAlister called to see me on a difficult question that has arisen on the Dental Board and, as usual, gave me exactly the information I wanted, backed by a sage and temperate view of the situation. He left with me a copy of the reference to my work which he was about to make in his address to the General Medical Council this afternoon upon the opening of their Session. It ran thus :

" Our regular work thus brings us into constant and intimate association with the Privy Council Office, and in particular with the Clerk of the Council, as head of its administrative staff. Sir Almeric FitzRoy has held that responsible position since 1898, and his retirement from office, on the ground of age, is announced to take place in June. In all the twenty years during which it has been my privilege to take counsel with him on the Council's business, he has never failed to accord me his wise and sympathetic assistance, or to manifest his understanding interest in the Council's activities and in their bearings on public and professional welfare. I have had the like testimony from my predecessor in the chair, Sir William Turner, and from many other colleagues on the Council. His membership of various Departmental Committees and Royal Commissions, such as those on Physical Deterioration, Midwives, Venereal Diseases, and the Dentists Act, has made him familiar with the subject-matter of medical and dental problems which concern the Council, and has enabled him to make from his own knowledge and experience important contributions to their solution. The Council, I am convinced, will be unwilling to witness his retirement from an office in which he has rendered such signal aid to medical and dental administration, without joining me in a cordial expression of the value we set on his public services, and of our good wishes for his health and well-being when freed from official cares."

*May 31st.*—This day sees the curtain fall upon my official life, and I attended my last Council, the 418th at which I have been present, out of 434 during my tenure of office. The Lord President was there, Amery, Cromer, and (at my particular request) F. Ponsonby. With him, Derek Keppel and Charles Cust, the last two in attendance. I had the pleasure of seeing three of the best friends I have made during my long connection with the Court, and the close of association with them touched with inevitable bitterness this last episode. They, and I must not omit Cromer, gave me the grateful impression of being very sorry to terminate official relations, and I shall not easily forget the warmth and friendliness of their valedictory salutations.

The King very graciously received me after Amery's audience, and I took my leave of him with the comfortable assurance of his good-will and a most cordial recognition of the value of my services. A few words of farewell with Stamfordham, who re-

minded me of our first acquaintance at Aldershot nearly fifty years ago, brought to a climax this severance of old ties.

With the winding up of a long chapter of human endeavour, in constant contact with distinguished minds and with no small opportunities of influence and direction, it is natural to ask oneself "What has been made of it?" and it is in no spirit of extravagant self-complacency that I venture to hope, in my own person, to have illustrated a standard of conduct in public affairs which, however imperfectly realised, has had for its object the manifestation of all that is best in tradition with the desire to adjust it at every step to new demands and changing circumstances. My ideal has been to put the service before private preoccupations and personal aims, to sacrifice time, and, if need be, health to its paramount call, and, further, to make the most of the occasions offered to assist others in a common task and enlist them in the supreme fellowship of a common goal. To that extent I feel I may claim for myself without presumption some right to the glowing tribute Salisbury pays in his farewell letter to the character of that silent body of toilers upon the success of whose efforts ministerial reputations so largely rest.

"My dear FitzRoy,

"I cannot let your service come to an end without expressing to you on my own behalf and, in right of my office, on behalf of a long succession of Presidents, our grateful thanks for your work and help through so many years.

"You are of that body of Civil Servants, unmatched in any other country in the world, upon which the successful administration of the public affairs depends at least as much, or even more, than the Parliamentary Government. It is fitting, therefore, that upon such an occasion as this I should express our sense of obligation.

"May I add a most cordial hope that you may have every enjoyment of your retirement.

"Yours sincerely,

"Salisbury."

"Buckingham Palace,[1]
"*May* 31*st*.

"The King held a Council this morning at 10.30 o'clock. There were present: the Marquess of Salisbury (Lord President), the Earl of Cromer (Lord Chamberlain), the Right Hon. Leopold Amery, M.P. (First Lord of the Admiralty), and the Right Hon. Sir Frederick Ponsonby (Treasurer to the King and Keeper of the Privy Purse).

[1] From the "Court Circular."

"Sir Almeric FitzRoy was in attendance as Clerk of the Council.

"The Marquess of Salisbury had an audience of His Majesty previous to the Council, and the Right Hon. Leopold Amery, M.P., had an audience of the King after the Council.

"The Earl of Malmesbury (Lord-in-Waiting), the Master of the Household, and Admiral Henry Campbell and Captain Sir Charles Cust, Bt., R.N. (Groom and Equerry-in-Waiting) were in attendance.

"Sir Almeric FitzRoy had the honour of being received by His Majesty to take leave on his retirement from the office of Clerk of the Council, which he has held for twenty-five years."

In this conversation the King was pleased to recall, with emphatic earnestness, the high character and illustrious career of the late Duke of Devonshire, upon whose advice Queen Victoria granted me the office which I now lay down.

Some personal notes are added in supplement of what appears in these pages touching two or three of the figures which pass across them.

It was my good fortune to meet *LORD ACTON* for the first time at Chatsworth in December 1898, and in the library of that stately palace, stored with the literary treasures of every epoch, I had rare opportunities of cementing an acquaintance which appealed to me by all that is noblest in human character. His aloofness of manner, his searching vision, penetrative and profound, piercing straight to the heart of all those problems which disturb and perplex experience, his anxious dialectic, charged with the might of understanding and consecrated by spiritual exaltation which left unexplored no source of enlightenment, wherewith to build up the great synthesis of divine evolution made manifest in the storied pages of history—all conveyed to the mind the conviction of a great moral and intellectual force.

Lord Bryce has recorded in imperishable phrase the effect upon him of a conversation with Lord Acton on the shores of the Mediterranean—that sea which is the epitome of all that is stirring in event and immortal in the spiritual growth of humanity—when late into the night his companion unfolded the picture, as it appeared to him, of the progress of mankind from small beginnings, seen like a far-winding stream from the heights of present achievement, to the perfecting of a great moral purpose, and never was the quality of a seer displayed in language of more sustained emphasis and inspiration.

Light and easy as his conversation often was, there lay behind his personality the tokens of a prophetic mission, urging effort to its highest issues. Time has run its course for twenty-one years since his death: taken away from the *Evil* to come, he has

been spared a manifestation of its power which, without daunting his faith or corroding his outlook, would have caused him unspeakable anguish of soul.

*LORD CROMER.*—On two occasions at Balmoral, including one long journey from Aberdeen, I saw a great deal of *Lord Cromer*, and up to his last illness enjoyed at his hands many proofs of confidence and friendliness. Few great characters shone with a brighter illumination in the intercourse of social life. Accessibility, clarity of thought, soundness of judgment, magnanimity, and unflinching courage were his salient features. I never met one to whom were so applicable the lines of Horace:

> " Si fractus illabatur orbis,
> Impavidum ferient ruinæ."

Without these gifts none could have supported the task he undertook and carried through by virtue of his call to be the creator of modern Egypt, the author and giver of its life. Tracing back the immense annals of that country till they are lost in the twilight of fable, no greater figure is interwoven with the chequered pattern of its immemorial life. He gave to the execution of his high charge the best of his years and powers. He scorned the malevolence of critics, the calumnies of calculating venom, and he lived to see the fruit of his labours resting on the assured basis of public esteem. In the tongue he loved so well, he could have said:

> εἴ μοι ξυνείη φέροντι
> μοῖρα τὰν εὐσεπτον ἀγνείαν λόγων
> ἔργων τε πάντων, ὧν νόμοι πρόκεινται
> ὑψίποδες.

*LORD MORLEY* is left, the last survivor of the three, a sensitive and stainless soul, spacious as the firmament and with sympathies as wide; one who, as he once wrote, took " a disinterested pleasure in working with others," and moreover helped to make their work a delight. He, who described toleration as a susceptibility to every aspect of truth, must have found a hard taskmaster in politics, whose business it often is to obliterate most of them and disfigure what remains. Yet through all the chagrins and disillusions of a long career, he kept his shield untarnished, his spirit hopeful, and even in the last protest of his official life, when opinion was doped with the unchained passions of war, he passed into retirement with a respect which was hardly the due of some who stayed to take part in a struggle they had spent their lives in persuading people was impossible.

During the four years Lord Morley was my chief, official routine was the mere warp and woof upon which his personality

was woven, departmental contact the opportunity for some profound axioms of conduct, ripe judgments, or humorous applications of current opinion, and, not infrequently, if time did not press, a delightful literary symposium, when his vast reading and varied stores of information came into play. I think his favourite political author was Alexis de Tocqueville, his own fastidious taste placing him upon a footing of intuitive sympathy with the mortifications of a disabused aristocrat.

*June* 1923.

# APPENDIX

## NOTE ON WAR TRADE ARRANGEMENTS

When the Treasury, on August 4th, 1914, set up a Committee for dealing with Trading with the Enemy, and kindred subjects, the Privy Council Office was one of the Departments represented on the Committee, Mr. J. C. Ledlie, Deputy Clerk of the Council, being nominated for the purpose. The Lord President of the Council at the same time placed the Board Room of the Council Office at the disposal of the Committee, and during the first seven months of its existence —i.e. down to the establishment of the War Trade Department—the Committee held its meetings regularly in that room.

Among the first questions that came before the Committee was the question as to the form in which licences for exportation of prohibited and restricted goods should be issued. The Privy Council Office was specially concerned in this question, because, in previous wars, applications for such licences had been dealt with by the Privy Council. The Committee decided to follow the practice thus sanctioned by custom, and Export Licences were accordingly issued in the shape of Orders of Council, bearing the seal of the office and signed by the Clerk of the Council. As the work of the Committee grew in complexity, sundry changes were made in the details of the licences to meet fresh requirements, but these changes did not affect the framework of the licences, which continued, throughout, to be issued in the form of Orders of Council, and when occasion arose for revoking a licence that had been issued the desired object was effected in accordance with the terms of the licence—by a letter sent from the Privy Council Office signed by the Clerk of the Council.

Applications for licences were addressed to several Departments, including the Privy Council Office, the great majority, however, being lodged with the Commissioners of Customs and Excise. When a licence had been authorised by the Committee, it devolved on the Privy Council Office to draft it, and issue it to the applicant. For this purpose an Export Licence Department of the Privy Council Office was set up. This Department was worked at first by the small permanent staff of the Council Office (including the Judicial Department, which rendered valuable assistance), but the work soon grew so rapidly that paid outside help had to be called in. Accommodation for the staff—which included some volunteers who rendered most useful services—was at first found at the Council Office, but by the middle of October 1914 the available rooms at the Office had become overcrowded. On October 26th the entire Export Licence Depart-

ment—the paid staff of which rose from twelve on September 30th to forty-five on October 31st, 1914—was accordingly transferred to larger premises at King's House, Kingsway, and was, at the same time, placed in charge of Sir James Harrison, C.V.O., formerly Deputy Clerk of the Council.

From October 1914 onwards all Export Licences authorised by the Committee were prepared at the Offices in Kingsway, and were issued from there. Thus while the Committee itself sat at the Council Office, applications for licences were received (for the most part) by the Commissioners of Customs and Excise, and the drafting and issuing of the licences was done at Kingsway. This division of labour led to much inconvenience and loss of time, and as the work was, at the same time, steadily and rapidly increasing both in volume and in complexity, the Treasury decided to concentrate it in the hands of a single Department, to be called "the War Trade Department," to which the duties of the Export Licence Department of the Privy Council Office were accordingly transferred on March 1st, 1915. Sir James Harrison continued to serve in the War Trade Department till July 26th, 1915, on which date he resigned. The functions of the Privy Council Office in connection with Export Licences thus came practically to an end, though these Licences continued, in point of form, to be issued in the shape of Orders of Council, and when occasion arose for the revocation of a Licence the procedure above mentioned continued to be employed.

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